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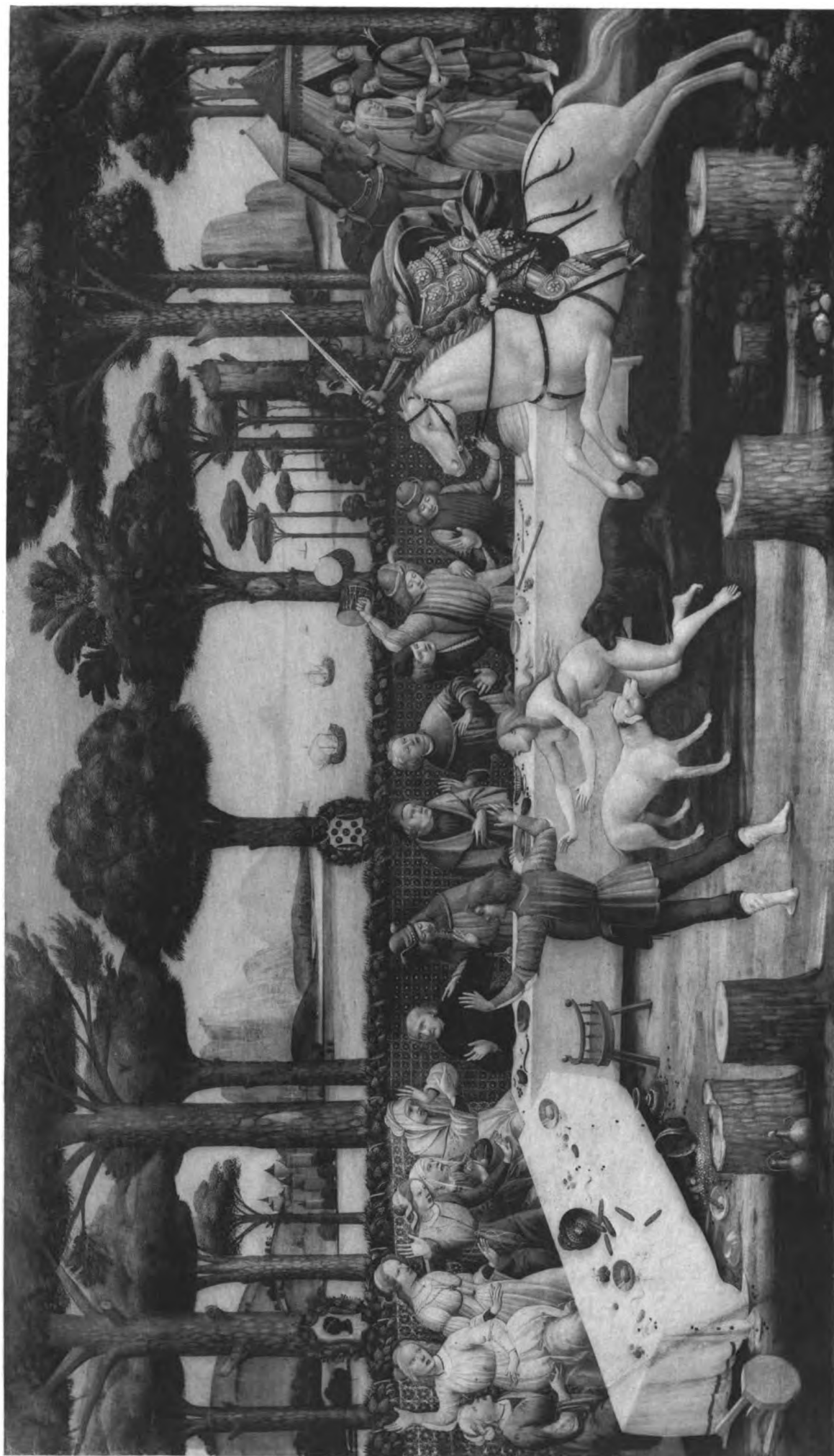
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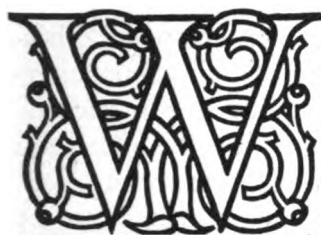


Walter E. Bodmerelli, Ph.D.

*Scene from the tale of Nastagio degli Onesti, from the picture by Annico di Domenico
in the collection of M. Spiridon.*

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL ARTICLE



WE have it on the authority of Mr. George Meredith that the modern malady is sameness. The specific he declared to be Art, and he described an Art at once purgative and tonic which should work wonders by levigating gross humours and reducing fatty accretions. That was now many years ago, and we are still in need of his prescription, still looking for this Art which should act on the feelings and the imagination by reflecting with an ordered and purposeful distortion our actual life. ¶ We do not, if our dramatic critics are to be trusted, find the object of our pressing desire in the national theatre, whose creatures wander in a limbus of their own, remote alike from the actual of everyday life and the real of the imagination, covering their nakedness in dresses which require special emissaries of the press to do them justice. Soon we may find our actors hiding behind the scenery for which they still act as *repoussoirs*. Of our national music, as interpreting our most poignant feelings, it would be hard to speak. Poetry depending less on external conditions may at any time administer a draught of the desired potion, but the causes that make it always possible make the supply capricious, depending, perhaps, on a single life. ¶ But whatever the chances may be of finding curative properties in the other arts, it can hardly be contended that to-day the figurative arts do much, in proportion to the amount of talent and industry invested in them, to allay the irritation of sameness. Geniuses are born to us, but we have not found how to cherish them. They fall on an ungrateful soil, and after a few years of promise show too often but a weedy growth. What our forefathers called historical painting, by which they conveniently summarised definitely imaginative

creations dealing with elevated themes, still lingers on, it is true. Every year a few canvases at the Academy display Gods and Goddesses in which the artist shows but a perfunctory conviction—we have a few Arthurian legends in which we catch the faint echo of an echo reflected from the later pre-Raphaelites—a few scenes from Little Arthur's History of England, conceived as *tableaux vivants*, with dresses borrowed from the Lyceum. But all emit the same odour of false sentiment: in all we find the same cheap substitutes for thought and feeling that the theatre has rendered current. For the most part, however, our artists, conscious of the dead weight of sameness which oppresses them too, deal in fatuities, mild parlour jests, tit-bits of curiosity, "A baby crab," "A merry jest," "Where there's a will there's a way." The catalogue alone will warn us how much more of the virus than of the antidote our representative galleries are likely to supply. Or if they are more serious artists, they, too, oppressed by the malady, dare not aspire, but take refuge in exploring some odd aspect of vision, which in default of creative imagination will yet make the rendering of familiar things not too painfully obvious. ¶ There are artists who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of false sentiment and fatuous cheerfulness. We are right to rejoice that they continue to elude our tyrant Bourgeoisie. We are wrong to lapse into self-complacency because they can continue to exist in inaccessible caves and insignificant galleries. That the worship of Baal goes on unabashed in high places is what, though we are by now so accustomed to it that it seems perfectly natural, should move us to protest. ¶ Equality is the Fata Morgana which has led us into our quandary. The impossible monstrosity threatens to accomplish itself. Where Man must be like Master on a tithe

of Master's income, he must have, not different things genuine of their kind, but well-simulated likenesses of the other's. With everything "equal to" a better which an ingenious commercialism foists on us, something is lost of the keen edge of perception. Each sham that is acquiesced in begets a greater. Distinctions are obliterated for want of the perceiving eye by and for which they exist. Only gross differences can be perceived, only glaring novelties count. Already scarcely anyone notes that modern painting, whatever merits it may possess, is not oil painting at all, but a margarine substitute. It is "equal to" the real thing, does as well for all practical purposes. And the itch of sameness increasing, demands ever wilder and wilder extravagances to arouse the sensation of difference. Originality is hunted like the Snark, and now we are to have it in the articles of our daily life. Where common sense dictates that our furniture shall be flat, we are to find it bulge; where structure and convenience demand a straight line, "originality" insists on flaccid curves; where beauty and the operations of the craft require an edge, we are to have a veiled contour. It is hoped that we shall have the sensation of novelty when we sit down on an "original" apex. ¶ Our hope, then, lies in the cultivation of an austere Epicureanism, an attentive and rigorous weighing of values, and this we may attain by the study of art produced under more auspicious conditions, though we may from time to time turn our experience to account in applying the principles thus acquired to whatever of contemporary art comes within their range. The ever-increasing zest with which this study of ancient art is now pursued is evidence of the starvation diet which most of modern art supplies for the needs of the imagination and the gratification of the finer senses. It is evidence of that, and at the same time the chief hope for a future in which the real importance of beauty for life will be understood. ¶ Nevertheless, this study is not without its dangers from our

point of view. Before we can be placed in the same position for the æsthetic judgement of an ancient work of art that we find ourselves in naturally before the work of one of our contemporaries, much purely historical reconstruction, much laborious scientific investigation, must have been accomplished. We can, no doubt, get keen æsthetic pleasure from any fine work of art when we regard it absolutely, but we cannot enjoy its finest flavour without considering it in relation to what preceded and followed it. It is when it takes its place among the consequent expressions of the human spirit that its full significance and the exact eminence of its creator become apparent. So much in our understanding of ancient art, in our classification of its creations and our recognition of its creators, depends ultimately on historical documents, that we cannot but welcome any, even apparently trifling, discoveries in this field. But the danger is lest this scientific activity should absorb too much of our attention; should come to be looked on as an end in itself, and not as a means to a quite different end, æsthetic satisfaction, and the exercise of the æsthetic faculties: these, an attitude of mere scientific curiosity may even atrophy. Still, the scientific study is a plain necessity for us; it is, moreover, one of those ideal and disinterested activities to which, as a nation, we are not dangerously addicted, and it will be by no means the least of our functions to provide at last a place where the results of such labour can be fittingly stored. ¶ It is otherwise with another subsidiary interest which attaches itself to our subject. The collector is, according to his kind, its most valuable friend or its most insidious enemy. Of the friend we need hardly speak; his services to our cause are too many and too obvious to recount. It is to him that we owe the very existence of, and opportunity for, our study. But the desire to collect in the abstract—the mere collecting for the sake of collecting—is one of the crudest of instincts inherited from the less

reasonable of our animal ancestors, and the man who collects old masters as another collects railway tickets or—dare we add?—postage stamps, displays his affinities. And the instinct in this crude form is even worse than purposeless; it makes in the opposite direction to the finest appreciation of works of art, since the pleasures of legal possession come to seem more positive than those of a disinterested appreciation. Further, the evil is aggravated by the possibilities of collecting at one and the same time works of art and money. To collectors of this class, rapid alterations in the values attached to particular works are as important as the fluctuations on the Stock Exchange are to the broker, and thus a disturbing element is introduced into that estimation of real values which our study proposes. The atmosphere becomes tainted, and the study itself acquires ill-repute by the presence of these

knowing ones, these tipsters of the sale-room. Such we shall discourage, though we may use them so far as they will serve our turn; but the collector who is also a sincere *amateur*, a true lover of the arts, has our whole-hearted sympathy; nor will we forget that some who come merely to collect remain to admire. ¶ Finally, then, we may hope—or at least endeavour—to remove a curious and shameful anomaly, this namely, that Britain, alone of all cultured European countries, is without any periodical which makes the serious and disinterested study of ancient art its chief occupation. The anomaly is the more surprising in that the great English aristocratic collectors of the last two centuries showed an independence of judgement, a subtlety of taste, such, that even now, in spite of recent depredations, England remains a place of pilgrimage for lovers of the finest creations of past times.

ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

✿ WRITTEN BY BERNHARD BERENSON ✿

NOT long ago I ventured to present to students of Italian painting an artistic personality which I had pieced together out of pictures erroneously ascribed to various well-known and even famous Florentines of the later decades of the fifteenth century.¹ In default of a perfectly ascertainable name, I called this painter "Amico di Sandro," because he had closer affinities with Botticelli than with any other master. This time I wish to introduce another such reconstructed artistic personality. Some day the archives may yield up the real name of this artist. Until then we must content ourselves with a descriptive name, and for convenience I shall call him "Alunno di Domenico," that is to say, *Disciple of Domenico Ghirlandajo*. We shall find immediately that there is cause for this appellation. ¶ In the gaudy Adoration of the Magi, finished by Ghirlandajo in 1488 for the Church of the Innocenti, there is in the middle distance, on the left, a spirited episode representing the Massacre of the Innocents. For violent stress of panting action, we shall scarcely compare it with the fresco of the same subject, which Domenico painted—his ablest achievement—at the same time or soon afterwards, in the choir of S. Maria Novella. But the episode makes less sacrifice of clearness, and has the advantage of being far more rhythmical. This rhythm, indeed, and a suppleness as of a myriad-linked chain, which this whirling group possesses, is scarcely what we are accustomed to expect from Ghirlandajo. And looking closer, we note other characteristics of a less static and less prosaic school. As in the movement, so also in the light, clinging draperies, there is a most unexpected reminder of a rival faction—of Filippo's following, and of Bot-

ticelli and Amico. A deliberate attempt to imitate Sandro was certainly made by Domenico, and made at the moment when he was painting his best, the frescoes in the Sassetti Chapel at S. Trinità; but the imitation is confined to the heads and to a search for Botticelli's contours; never for his rhythm and movement. Moreover, while the figures in this episode are, in proportion and structure, certainly Domenico's, the heads are of quite a different type; the faces have a different oval, longer and more pointed; the eyes are deep-set; and the expression is eager to the point of vehemence, far removed from Ghirlandajo's wonted placidity.¹ We must conclude that this episode was not painted by Domenico himself, but by some assistant, already signalled out by the master as possessing peculiar talents for such work. To judge by the structure of the figures, which in small reproduce Ghirlandajo's heroes painted between 1481 and 1485 in the Palazzo Vecchio, we may assume that their author acquired his training in those years. Whether indeed he already had passed under another master, or got his Botticellian strain later, we must leave for the moment undecided; but he certainly grew to be more, rather than less, the follower of Sandro. ¶ The *predelle* to this altar-piece (now Nos. 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70 in the gallery of the Innocenti²) are somewhat more carelessly executed, but by the same hand. The same types, the same structure, the same draperies appear throughout, with the difference, however, that the draperies here tend more to spread flat on the ground, as in Filippo Lippi's following, or to be more flowing, and that a number of the profiles, sharp and pointed, betray greater affinity with the same school. ¶ At the Colonna Gallery, in Rome, there are two *cassone*

¹ See my Study and Criticism of Italian Art. 1st series. G. Bell and Sons. 1901.

¹ It may be objected that this particular subject requires vehemence of expression, but we shall see that it occurs everywhere in works by the same hand.

² All photographed by Alinari.



"ALUNNO DI DOMENICO"

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS



THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND SABINES—ALUNNO DI DOMENICO.

COLONNA GALLERY, ROME.

panels ascribed recently to David Ghirlandajo¹ which are by our author, Alunno di Domenico, in a phase identical with that in the Innocenti altar-piece. Not only are the types, the figures, and the draperies exactly the same there, in the Massacre of the Innocents, and here in the Rape of the Sabines, and in the Reconciliation between Romans and Sabines, but there is as much identity in arrangement, and rhythm of movement, as the difference in subject permits. The jagged peaks in the landscape show, however, that Alunno was not unaffected by Piero di Cosimo. In 1488, consequently, Alunno di Domenico reveals himself as a close follower of Ghirlandajo, with strong leanings towards Botticelli, and a liking for Piero di Cosimo's fanciful landscape. He is vivacious, ready, not over much in earnest, a painter, in short, with something of Amico's charm, but as inferior to that artist as Ghirlandajo was to Botticelli. We must now briefly pursue his career further, backward as well as forward, for surely he did not burst into maturity in 1488. ¶ The *predelle* to Ghirlandajo's altar-piece in the Duomo at Lucca, dating certainly no later, and perhaps a year earlier, than 1486,² are by Alunno, and show him in a more purely Ghirlandajesque phase than two or three years later. At each end of the *predella* stand in niches St. Lawrence and Augustin. Between them are five episodes: The Conversion of Paul, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the Entombment, the Martyrdom of St. Clement, and Peter Delivered from Prison. These are all more graceful in movement than are Ghirlandajo's own figures, and more expressive in type; otherwise they are much closer to Domenico than any of Alunno's later paintings, and much more free from any Botticellian strain. In the manner of these *predelle*, but on a scale

¹ Photographed by Anderson, 3750, 3751.

² I infer this from the obvious way that this altar-piece fits in between the Narni Coronation of 1486, and the undated but certainly earlier altar-piece in the Florence Academy (No. 66). The *predelle*, by the way, to the Coronation are also by Alunno. They represent St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, Christ erect in His Tomb, and St. Jerome in Penitence. They are very Ghirlandajesque.

in which Alunno apparently could achieve Alunno di but failure, is a fresco by the central portal Domenico inside the façade of S. Frediano at Lucca. It represents the Visitation, which takes place in front of an elaborate background of buildings. Here the St. Joseph is perfectly identical with the Peter in the *predella* in the Duomo, and other resemblances leave scarcely a doubt but that they were painted at the same time. ¶ Even earlier, no later certainly than 1485, is the *predella* to Domenico's altar-piece in the Florence Academy (Nos. 66, 67). Here we have four scenes from the lives of the Saints represented in the picture, executed with Alunno's light, rapid touch, unmistakably his in all that is essential, yet far closer to Ghirlandajo than I have found him elsewhere. This *predella* must count for us therefore as his earliest existing work, although it is already of a mastery and of a finish which characterize no mere tyro. We have, however, brought him back to the years when Ghirlandajo was executing the work upon which chiefly Alunno's manner seems to have been fashioned, the frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio.¹ ¶ At the Leyland sale, some ten or more years ago, four *cassone* panels, recounting Boccaccio's tale of Nastagio degli Onesti, passed into the hands of M. Aynard, of Lyons. He did not keep them, however; one, representing the marriage feast, now belongs to Mr. Vernon Watney, of London, and the others to M. Spiridion, of Paris. They were painted, it seems, in 1487, to commemorate the marriage of Lucrezia Pucci to Francesco Bini (Cavalcaselle, *Storia*, VI., 249), and have, until quite recently, always been accepted as Botticelli's own work. While it is probable that Sandro undertook the painting of them, and that they left his shop as his own, it nevertheless may be questioned whether he touched any of them, and whether he as much as furnished the cartoons. It is likely that he did no more than sketch out roughly how he desired to

¹ Before leaving this period it is well to mention that Mr. Brinsley Marlay has two long *cassone*-fronts with the story of the Trojan War, rather early works of our improviser.

have them, and left the rest to pupils and assistants. Thus Mr. Watney's panel seems to have been left to Sellajo, and a second to our Alunno, while the remaining two may possibly have been painted between them, Sellajo doing, under Botticelli's close supervision, the figures and the foregrounds, Alunno the horses and the backgrounds. Be this as it may regarding the others, there can be no doubt that Alunno designed and painted the panel representing the disturbance of the feast on the forest shore by the entrance of the spectral cavalier pursuing the naked damsel with his dogs, who already are tearing her. In this painting, if we except the horseman's cloak and the youthful lady sitting under the Pucci arms, there is no greater suggestion of Botticelli than we have already discerned in Alunno's other paintings; and the exception was dictated probably by Sandro himself. Everything else is so unmistakably our painter's that we need not attempt to demonstrate it. It should be observed, nevertheless, that this picture, ascribed to Botticelli, is overwhelmingly Ghirlandajesque, most obviously in the background of hills and water and in the rather heavy, largely and loosely modelled male faces. One of them, indeed, that of the old man on the extreme left, was neither due to Alunno's fancy nor yet studied from life, but copied, with the least change possible, from the fresco at S. Trinità, representing Pope Honorius approving the rule of St. Francis, painted two years earlier by Ghirlandajo. If you will turn your eyes to the right, in this fresco, you will see a group of three men and a boy. The head next to the Pope is identical with the head in our panel.¹ ¶ Alunno, then, did actually work for and with Botticelli, and this fact helps to explain the distinct traces of that great master which we already have found in his pictures, as well as those which we shall find later. ¶ In the collection of Lord Ashburnham—now dispersed—there were two *cassone*-fronts

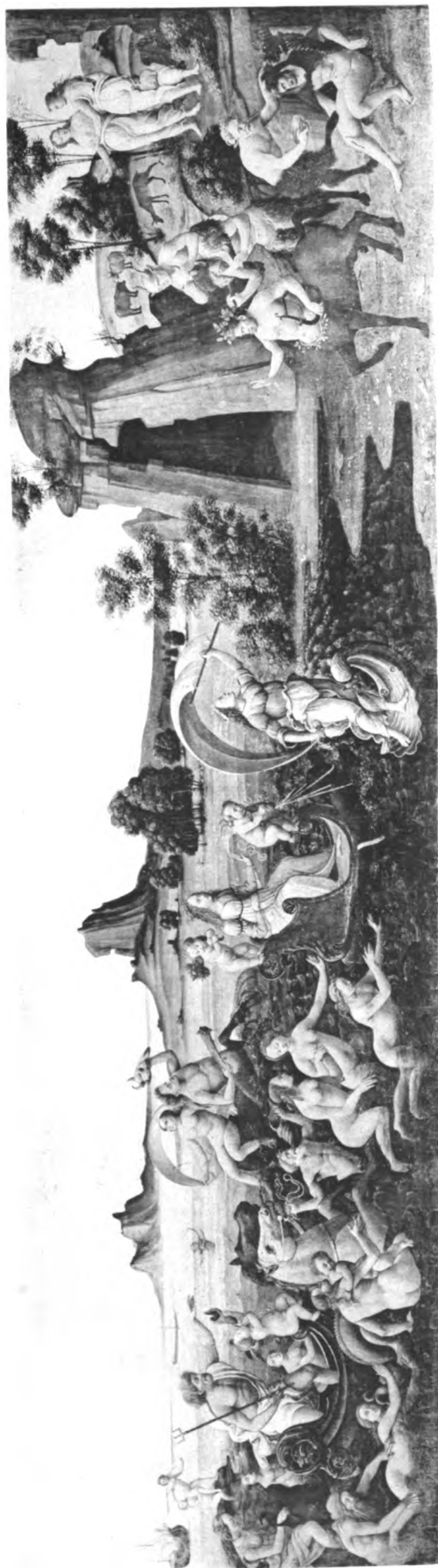
¹ The man and the boy are Francesco Sassetti and his son. The next figure is Lorenzo the Magnificent. May not the fourth portrait, seeing it recurs in our panel, be a Pucci?

representing the Story of Jason at Colchis, one of which—wherein the chief episode is a feast—is by Alunno di Domenico. The other has been repeatedly attributed to Piero di Cosimo, but it would rather seem to be the product of some Northern painter, then working at Florence in close imitation of Piero. As the latter panel is dated 1487, and as the two continue the same tale, and are, moreover, of exactly the same size, we may safely assume that both were painted at about the same time. Alunno's panel¹ has every relation to the two in the Colonna Gallery. The same types, the same structure, the same vehemence of expression, the same blond colouring, and the same landscape betraying the influence of Piero di Cosimo. We see Alunno in a similar phase in the delightful *cassone*-front belonging to the Honourable Mrs. Baillie-Hamilton at Langton, Duns, Scotland, representing in many episodes the Story of Io²; and in two panels ascribed to Credi recently given to the Louvre by M. de Vandeul, representing the Triumph of Venus and Marriage of Thetis. But for a while Piero's influence was strong upon our impressionable painter, and to this there are three other *cassone*-fronts to bear witness. Two of them, belonging to Mrs. Austen, at Horsmonden, represent the Marriage of Perithous and Hippodameia and the Fight between the Centaurs and Lapithæ³; the remaining one, belonging to the Marquess of Bath, at Longleat (ascribed to Pintoricchio), represents a Feast and a Flight. All three have the intimate characteristics of Alunno, but the darker colouring and the more fanciful landscape betray Piero's influence. These we may safely date at about 1490. Very characteristic also are two further *cassone*-fronts with the Story of Joseph,

¹ Photo, New Gallery, 1894 (No. 117), officially ascribed to Benozzo.

² Attributed to Pintoricchio.

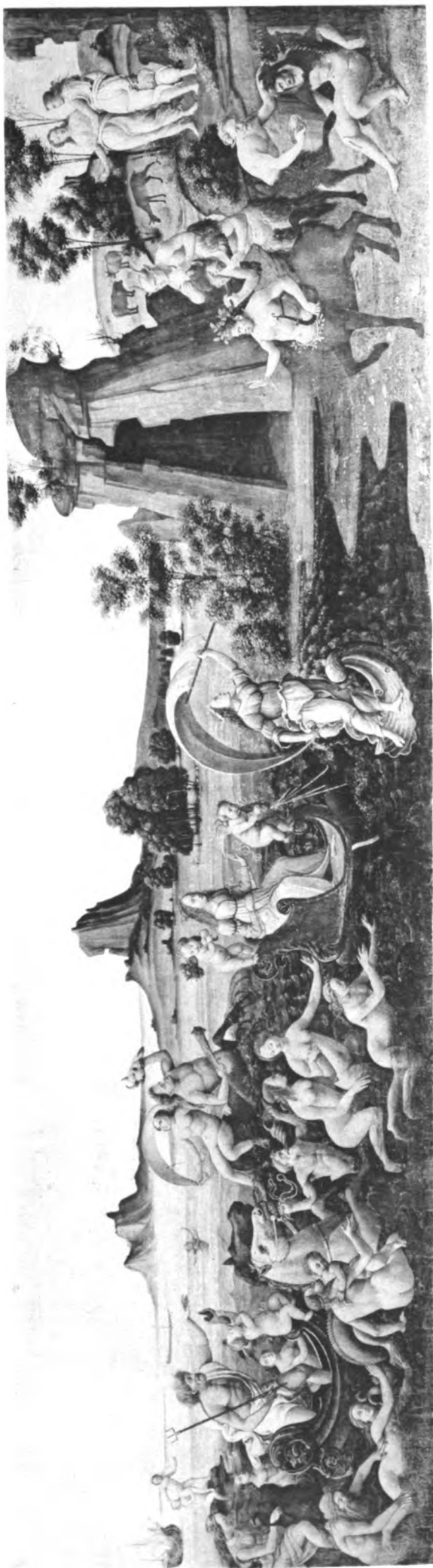
³ New Gallery, 1894 (Nos. 91, 97), ascribed to Signorelli, thus a certain recognition of Piero di Cosimo's influence. To Dr. Richter they seemed by Matteo Balducci (Repertorium XVIII., p. 240). No one is obliged to waste his time upon petty painters, but, on the other hand, these also require to be taken in earnest, or not at all. In the same article Dr. Richter ascribes to Cosimo Rosselli a Cupid and Psyche belonging to Mr. Brinsley Marlay. But this, as I am sure the few students who seriously study the minor Florentines will agree, is by Jacopo del Sellajo.



THE TRIUMPH OF VENUS, BY ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

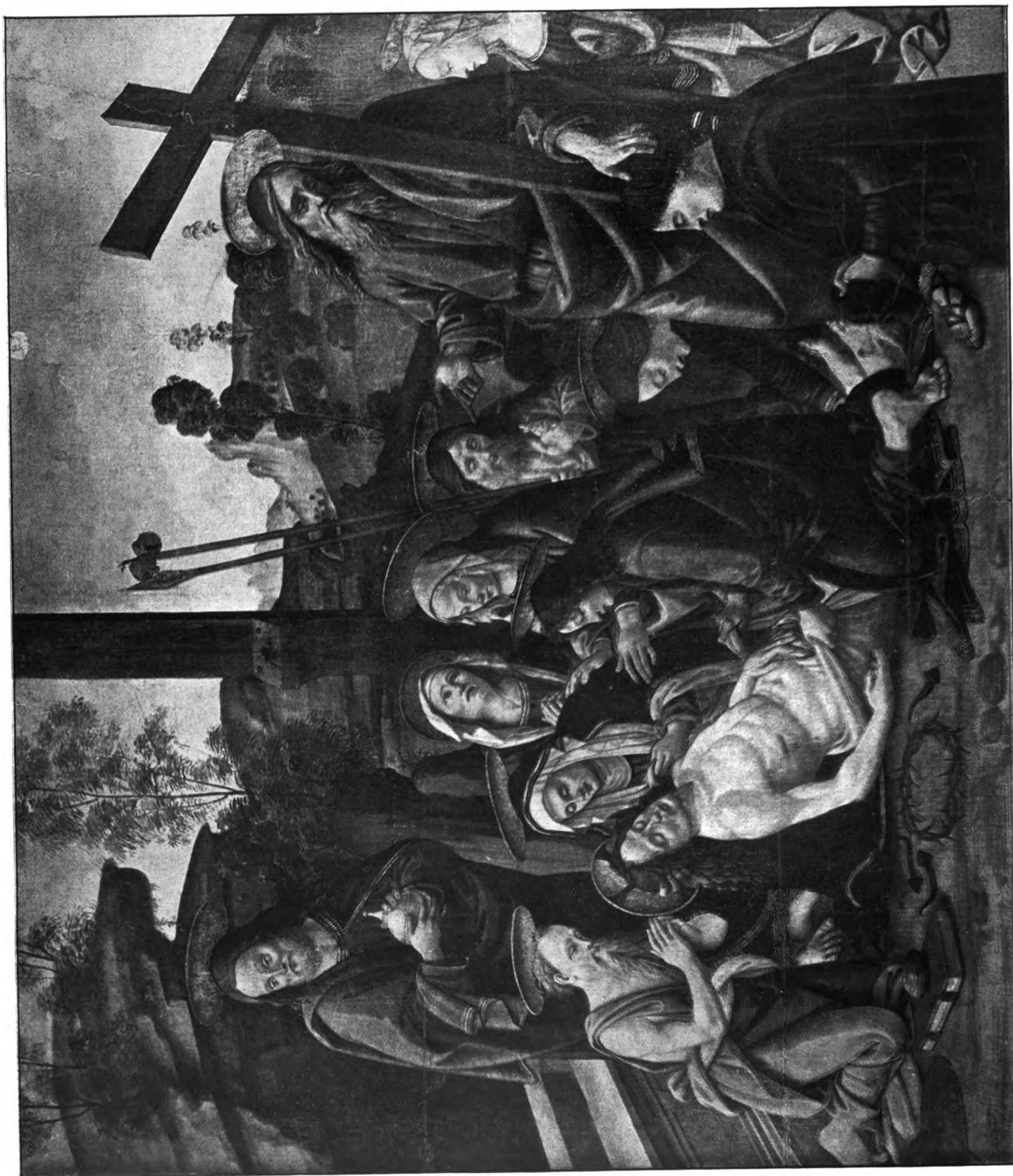
FROM THE PICTURE IN THE LOUVRE

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THE TRIUMPH OF VENUS, BY ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

FROM THE PICTURE IN THE LOUVRE



PIETA ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

COLLECTION OF MARCHESE MANNELLI RICCARDI

Handwritten text, mostly illegible due to extreme fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text appears to be organized into several paragraphs.

belonging to Mr. Brinsley Marlay. They are reproduced as Plates 51 and 52 in the catalogue of Artaud de Montor's collection, and are still attributed to Pesellino. After this date, Alunno's career as a painter is not to be pursued for long. He seems to have turned sharply towards Botticelli and Filippino, as is witnessed by a work wherein, while retaining his essential characteristics, he makes ample show of indebtedness to Sandro. The work in question consists of two pilasters (Florence Academy, 268 and 269, no attribution), upon which are painted an Annunciation, two medallions of Prophets, and full-length figures of SS. Dominic and Thomas Aquinas. Botticelli's influence is also distinctly discernible in the more Ghirlandajesque *tondo*, representing the Adoration of the Magi, in the recently dispersed Panciatichi Collection at Florence (No. 90).¹ But from about 1490, for a decade and more, Alunno's energies must have been expended, for the most part, on furnishing illustrations for books. Yet, before approaching this topic, we must consider three or four pictures with figures on a larger scale which, I believe, can safely be ascribed to Alunno. ¶ The best of these is a Deposition from the Cross, belonging to the Marchese Mannelli Riccardi, of Florence. It is a work not altogether unworthy of the name it bears, although it is as clearly Alunno's as it is not Ghirlandajo's. The twelve figures, of about half the size of life, are far from unpleasant. One or two of them, such as the Evangelist and the Donor, approach Domenico in his best, his S. Trinità, phase. The colour is golden, like Filippino's finest. The land-

¹ For completeness, I add a few more of Alunno's paintings. In the Florence Academy, Nos. 278, 279, 280, uniform *predelle*, St. Jerome, St. Francis, The Entombment—almost identical with those in the Innocenti; Uffizi, No. 1208, St. Benedict and the Monks who attempt to poison him; from the S. Maria Nuova Collection, a companion to the last, Maurus saving Placidus from drowning; as well as the Four Evangelists, painted above a triptych ascribed to Spinello Aretino; at Christ Church, Oxford, No. 22, a Madonna seated in a room between two arched windows with the Christ Child blessing the infant John. In the illustrated catalogue of the Artaud de Montor Collection (Paris, 1843), a number of the reproductions seem to be after paintings by Alunno. Thus, besides Plates 51 and 52 mentioned above as after the pictures now belonging to Mr. Brinsley Marlay, there are Plate 16, Five Prophets, and Plate 59, a Crucifixion.

scape is almost charming. The predominant influence here is Ghirlandajo's, yet the kneeling Jerome is Filippinesque. It will scarcely be necessary to demonstrate that this canvas is Alunno's, the types, the draperies, and the landscape being so obviously his. Moreover, the composition is, in essentials, identical with one of the Innocenti *predelle*, and, like that, has a singular feature, an arrangement of the dead Christ, which recalls no other Florentine but the Umbrian Signorelli.



From the Woodcut by Alunno di Domenico in the undated *Rappresentazione di S. Eufrosina*

¶ The St. Jerome in the last picture enables us to ascribe to Alunno two other figures of the same Church Father. The first belongs to the Baron Chiaramonte Bordonaro, of Palermo (photographed by Alinari), and is a distinctly pleasant work. It is close enough to Filippino to be ascribed to him, but the landscape, the draperies, the treatment of the beard, and the resemblance to the same saint in the large Deposition, leave no doubt in my mind that its author was Alunno. The other St. Jerome is the one in the Florence

Academy (No. 54) ascribed to Fra Filippo. With this painter it has nothing in common, but with his son's style more than a little: the head, for instance, is thoroughly Filippinesque. The attempt at muscular modelling and the opaque greyish colouring are somewhat unusual in Alunno, nevertheless I do not hesitate to ascribe this panel also to him, for, by a curious coincidence, the like modelling occurs in the small St. Jerome in the same gallery (No. 278), and the like colouring characterizes most of Alunno's other paintings in this collection. From the waist down, this figure closely resembles the Jerome in the Deposition. The lion is like the beast in the small St. Jerome. The landscape is but a variation on the Palermo picture. Finally, the small figures in the background are as good as a signature, bearing so clearly as they do Alunno's stamp. ¶ But our little master was scarcely at his best when painting large figures. He is barely tolerable in a *tondo* at the Uffizi (No. 85), containing the Madonna and the infant John adoring the Christ Child; and he sinks below the threshold in a figure of the size of life and without entertaining accessories. This is a Justice in the Cenacolo di S. Apollonia, ascribed to the School of Pollajuolo although the head

is sufficiently characteristic of Alunno to justify the attribution to him of the entire panel. ¶ An attempt like this last, and even the other larger essays, demonstrate that Alunno di Domenico did well to confine himself chiefly to small figures and to turn finally to illustration. This minor painter, who was apparently incapable of producing on the scale of life a figure that can support inspection, who is feeble if vivacious, and scarcely more than pleasant in *predelle* and *cassone*-fronts, was a book-illustrator charming as few in vision and interpretation, with scarcely a rival for daintiness and refinement of arrangement, spacing, and distribution of black and white. In Florence, between 1490 and 1500 few, apparently, if any, illustrated books were published without woodcuts, for which Alunno di Domenico furnished the designs. The student who has mastered his manner as revealed in the paintings which I have indicated, and in the drawings of which I speak in my forthcoming book on the Drawings of the Florentine Painters, will not fail to recognise Alunno's touch and style in nine-tenths at least of the reproductions in Dr. Kristeller's *Early Florentine Wood-cuts*¹ or in M. Gustave Gruyer's *Les Illustrations des Ecrits de Jérôme Savonarole*.² Unfortunately I have not the space to demonstrate my statement point by point. But it scarcely needs it. I shall content myself with indicating in the books of Dr. Kristeller and of M. Gruyer those cuts wherein Alunno's hand may be most readily discerned. As obvious examples as one can ask for are S. Antonino in his Cell, Gr. 167, Kr. 18, Ghirlandesque; Landino Lecturing, Botticellian, Gr. 173, Kr. 19; Confession, from S. Antonino's *Somma*, dated 1507, Gr. 93, Kr. 108; Lorenzo di



From the Woodcut by Alunno di Domenico in the *Lamento del Duca Galeazzo Sforza*, 1505

Lorenzo di

¹ London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1897.
² Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1879.

Medici's Compagnia del Mantelaccio, Kr. 18; Savonarola and the Astrologer, Gr. 142; Benevieni defending Savonarola, Gr. 125; Savonarola exhorting Nuns, Gr. 152; The Mass, Gr. 91, Kr. 109; Death-Bed Scene, Gr. 75; Lamento del Duca Galeazzo (the action whereof should be compared with that in the Massacre of the Innocents in the Innocenti altar-piece), Kr. 63; Storia di Uberto e Filomena, Kr. 13; Gaultieri e Griselda, Kr. 39; Novella di Due Preti, Kr. 70; Storia di Ippolito Buondelmonti, Kr. 25; Lorenzo's Nencia di Barberino, Kr. 26; the Triumph of Death, Gr. 63, Kr. 17. Alunno also furnished designs for woodcuts for the Sacre Rappresentazioni, so popular toward the turn of the century in *piagnone* Florence. The following are among the most characteristic:—S. Margherita, Kr. 36; Judgement of Solomon, Kr. 38; S. Agata, Kr. 29; S. Orsola, Kr. 30; S. Felicità, Kr. 43; Augustus and the Sibyl, Kr. 44; S. Rosana, Kr. 46; Annunciation, Kr. 53; S. Eufrosina (peculiarly characteristic), Kr. 58. By Alunno di Domenico also are all the illustrations to Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, dated 1500; to Ænea Silvio's *Storia di Due Amanti*; and to the *Epistole e Evangeli*,¹ dated 1495. In the last book, the woodcut representing Peter being led out of Prison is, allowing for difference of material, quite identical with the *predella* containing the same subject at Lucca. With slight change Alunno uses these two figures in a cut for the *Fior di Virtù*, dated 1498, Kr. 7, representing an angel leading a monk. ¶ If, as seems clear, Alunno di Domenico was not only an assistant whom Ghirlandajo was happy to employ, to relieve by his vivacity and light-

ness his own too *bourgeois* gravity; if Alunno, again, was the author of the various *cas-sone-fronts* which I have described; and if, at the same time, it was he and no other who furnished the fascinating designs for nearly all the illustrated books that appeared in Florence for some fifteen years, then surely his was an artistic personality, with which we have done well to become acquainted. In his phase as illustrator (in the narrower sense of the word), there scarcely has ever been one more charming. What was the real name and identity of this artistic personality I must, partly because for me this question has small interest, partly because I see no

Alunno di
Domenico



Landino Lecturing. From the Woodcut by Alunno di Domenico in the *Flores Poetarum*.

¹ Most of these in Kristeller.

answer, leave to others to determine. Dr. Ulmann, who, stumbling upon a number of Alunno's pictures, recognized that they were by the same hand, would identify him with David Ghirlandajo.¹ This is one of Dr. Ulmann's unhappy guesses. David worked always with Domenico during the latter's lifetime, never showing in his painting a markedly distinct personality of his own. David already was working with his brother in 1475 (in the Vatican Library), whereas we scarcely can trace Alunno's career further back than 1485. Alunno drew away from Ghirlandajo, and became more and more Botticellian. Surely this is not likely to have happened to one who, like David, had, as a painter, always worked faithfully and with perfect subordination as Domenico's mere assistant. The hands of apprentices can be clearly perceived in Domenico's frescoes at S. Maria Novella, but never a touch betraying the hand of Alunno. He, moreover, seems to have had no liking for life-size figures. So far as we know him at all, it is, with very few exceptions, in small figures, and this preference would easily have led over to book-illustration. Nor is it likely that Vasari, writing at length of David, would have failed to say a word about his activity as an illustrator, if David and Alunno were the same artistic personality.

POSTSCRIPT.—This article was written several years ago, and only when it was in the press did I come across the interesting document which I append. I found it in one of those learned pamphlets which it is in Italy the custom to print and distribute on the occasion of a marriage. Frequently they con-

¹ *Jahrbücher der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XVII., p. 61.

tain invaluable information, but it is only a happy accident that now and then brings them to the notice of scholars. This pamphlet contains all the documents concerning Ghirlandajo's Adoration of the Magi at the Innocenti.² It would be interesting to speak at length of all that these reveal regarding the preparation of an altar-piece and all its appurtenances, but I must limit myself to mentioning briefly the fact that one of these documents, dated July 30, 1488, is nothing less than the contract between the Prior of the Innocenti and a certain Bartolommeo di Giovanni that the latter shall paint and have finished before the end of October the seven *predelle* to Ghirlandajo's altar-piece. ¶ This proves conclusively, even to those who still hesitate to give weight to the deductions of mere connoisseurship, that it was not Domenico who executed these *predelle* and the group of paintings, illustrations, and drawings that belong to them. It also disproves Dr. Ulmann's contention that their author was David Ghirlandajo. ¶ It may be asked, why go on calling this artist Alunno di Domenico when his real name is known? But Bartolommeo di Giovanni is not even a complete name, and it tells us nothing about the artist. So for the present I am content to retain the name that is descriptive and more easily remembered. ¶ Finally, the handwriting—which, thanks to the kindness of Signor Bruscoli, we are able to reproduce—is that of a lettered person, with the delicacy almost of a professional scribe. It is what we might expect from a man to whom the illustration of books became a profession.

² L'Adorazione dei Magi. Tavola di Domenico Ghirlandajo nella chiesa dello spedale degl' Innocenti. Con documenti inediti. Gaetano Bruscoli. Per le Nozze Canevaro-Ridolfi. Florence, April 23, 1902.

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ST JEROME ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

FLORENCE ACADEMY



ST JEROME ALUNNO DI DOMENICO

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20. 10. 1911
1. 11. 1911
2. 11. 1911

Marquetry Cabinet,
with decoration in
gilt bronze, by
André Charles Boule.
Louis XIV. Louvre.

FRENCH FURNITURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

✎ WRITTEN BY EMILE MOLINIER ✎

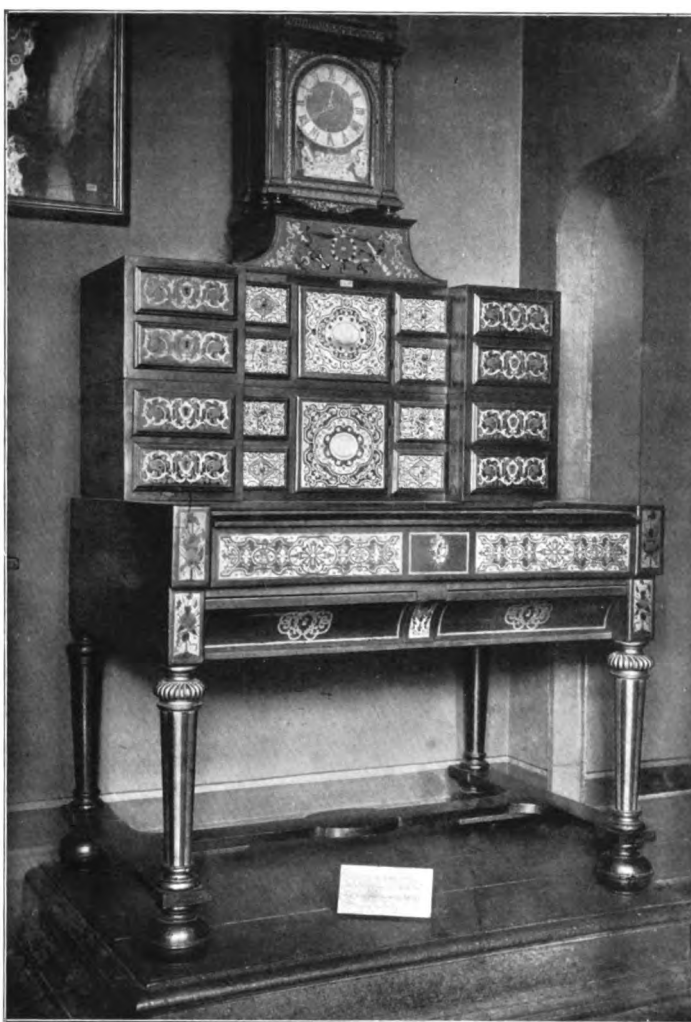
ARTICLE I.—THE LOUIS XIV STYLE—INTRODUCTION

DURING the past forty years or so, the French styles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have experienced a remarkable fortune: one after the other, turn by turn, they have come back into fashion, with the whimsical fluctuations which that word "fashion" implies; and at this very time, should one wish to furnish, in a sumptuous manner, a mansion or even a more modest residence, it would seem that his choice must needs lie between the styles of Louis XIV., of the Regency Period, of the reign of Louis XV., or that of Louis XVI. So that the French style, which travelled round Europe in the eighteenth century, has travelled round the world in the nineteenth; for America, which gave scarce a thought to the question of furniture in the eighteenth century, has now joined the movement and imitates the habits of the Old World in artistic matters, while imparting to them a very personal touch. Tapestry, inlaid furniture and marquetry, bronzes, which, in 1832 or 1840, were regarded as products of no interest and of rather reprehensible taste, suddenly, after many years of neglect, came to be looked upon as works of the highest order, worthy of inclusion in the most important collections and capable, therefore, of attaining the highest prices. ¶ This present favour is, in my opinion, due to two very different causes: first and incontestably, to the very real merit of these works, conceived and carried out in France amid surroundings which were admirably organized from the artistic point of view; secondly and especially, to the inability of modern artists to create a form of domestic decoration that shall not be a copy of

something already seen—a copy to which any enlightened man of culture will prefer the original—or else something so impractical and so eccentric as to be able to fit in with neither ancient nor modern uses. The failure of the modern style, in France at least, is almost an accomplished fact, and I believe that it has also ceased to find favour in the other countries of Europe; and the day is already in sight when, by a reaction easy to foresee, we shall have to submit to the short-sighted exigencies of a classical style pushed to the utmost limits. ¶ Who knows but that we may look for a harbinger of this revolution in the success obtained in recent years by the so-called "Empire style," which, in reality, is no more than decadent Louis XVI? It is not difficult to foretell the coming change of fashion. From the Louis XIV style we passed to the Louis XV, which is infinitely better adapted, in its various manifestations, to modern uses, and thence to the Louis XVI, or, at any rate, to the style commonly described by that name, which, like all too general names, is not absolutely correct. At present, the Louis XVI style enjoys general favour, while, on the other hand, the Louis XIV, even when displayed in specimens of the highest order, is of comparatively little value. Those who seek precise information on this point need only consult the catalogue of the Duke of Hamilton's famous collection, dispersed in 1882. A work of the period of Louis XIV., which there fetched the enormous price of twelve thousand pounds, would not be worth a quarter of that sum to-day. Our taste has turned from the fashion of that period, and most *amateurs* think that the furniture of André Charles Boule wears too melancholy an air and recalls too closely

the Great King's Court. ¶ The different French styles of the eighteenth century are doomed to suffer the same depreciation by turns, and that for two reasons: first, because the American collectors, who have caused the rise in prices of the last twenty years, do not care for marquetry furniture, which is ill-fitted to resist the climate of the New World; secondly, because most fine pieces of furniture have been very frequently reproduced by our modern cabinet-makers, whose copies, save to the most practised eyes, are absolutely equal to the originals: and it is always unpleasant to pay fifteen or twenty thousand pounds for a piece of furniture of which your neighbour has purchased the fellow for a few hundreds. This last applies not only to furniture properly so-called, but also to bronzes, chairs and tapestry. How few candelabra of bronze gilt with ormolu are really old; how few tapestry-covered suites were born precisely as we see them to-day; how many tapestries have been completely made up, or have undergone such extensive restorations that they can no longer be accepted as old in the true sense of the word! Fashion and the consequent prices attained by these objects, especially after the Americans became great buyers, were bound to encourage forgers; for the greater part those buyers are defenceless persons, devoid of artistic knowledge, who acquire such objects only from snobbish motives, so that they may become the possessors of a royal stock of furniture. During the past twenty years there has been sold off, both in Paris and in London, a really incalculable number of spurious pieces of furniture, spurious bronzes, tapestries either spurious or restored to such an extent as to be unrecognizable. Aubusson tapestry has been sold as Beauvais, Flemish tapestry as Gobelins; furniture of a very modest character has been bought in Paris, in the Rue de Rennes, for three hundred francs and sold in London, all covered over with modern bronzes, for three hundred pounds. The manufacturers who devote themselves to

this class of speculation are well aware that this golden age must come to an end some day, and they hasten still further to swell their profits by sometimes also trading in spurious wares of the Middle Ages, spurious Renaissance wares, spurious pictures, especially those of the English school: for these are the pictures that now command the highest prices. This will last while it lasts, they argue; and it will last until the bare-faced robbery is discovered, when we shall see a fine exhibition of anger on every side. I would strongly advise any one proposing to make a conscientious report of some American collection trumped up in this fashion not to travel unaccompanied: he would never be heard of again! It is the struggle for existence. ¶ But enough said of all this dishonesty! The French styles which conquered all Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be studied without regard to the influences and fluctuations of fashion. Whatever fate the future may hold in store for them, they will always remain as the supreme expression of a particular state of society and civilization, as works beautiful and admirable in themselves and not beautiful or admirable because they depend upon the suffrages of those who admire them, without understanding them, for reasons of convention, affectation, or fashion. ¶ What is the origin of the French style? This is the first question which we must ask ourselves and which I will endeavour to answer. I will add that, in order to bear out my statements, I shall mention only pieces of unquestionable authenticity, selected almost exclusively from among those in public collections. There are many such elsewhere, in both England and France. But I prefer, on principle and so as not to expose myself unduly to criticism, to base my arguments on monuments which are open to the inspection of the world and which can boast of an unimpeachable pedigree. ¶ The French style of the seventeenth century, which is known as the "Louis XIV style," is a mixture resulting from the amalgamation of



BUREAU OF MARÉCHAL DE CRÉQUI. LOUIS XIII. MUSÉE DE CLUNY



MARQUETRY BUREAU. LATE LOUIS XIII. LOUVRE



BUREAU OF MARÉCHAL DE CRÉQUI. LOUIS XIII. MUSÉE DE CLUNY



MARQUETRY BUREAU. LATE LOUIS XIII. LOUVRE



APOLLO AND DAPHNE, DECORATION IN GILT BRONZE OF A PIECE OF FURNITURE
BY ANDRÉ CHARLES BOULE. LOUIS XIV. LOUVRE



WOODEN TABLE, CARVED AND GILT, FROM THE FURNITURE OF SUPERINTENDANT FOUQUET
EARLY LOUIS XIV.



French, Italian and Flemish elements. This is what I will now endeavour to prove. ¶ It is very rare, in any country, for a style to be created in an "official" manner, so to speak, and for art to be shaped by political and administrative influences. This, however, is what occurred in France, and I will add that it could occur only in a country such as ours, at a time when a long work of centralization was being definitely completed. It is, indeed, impossible to separate a form of art from the period in which it manifested itself; and the French style is less capable than any other of being considered by itself and without regard to the surroundings amid which it took birth and of which it is the most accurate and the most palpable expression. It is a positive fact that the artistic organization which so profoundly influenced our French art in the seventeenth century proceeds from a much more extensive political scheme. Under this political influence were condensed the various elements destined to form the Louis XIV. style, which was born full of life and vigour and which gave rise, by logical sequence under various influences, to the several French styles that succeeded it in turns. ¶ When Henry of Navarre became King of France, French decorative art was undergoing a crisis. It may be that too long a course of production had exhausted its powers; it may be that the long years of strife and bloodshed under which France had suffered had retarded its development: this much is certain, that the time had come to think of engrafting a new and effective stock. Even as it was necessary to adopt a new course in politics, so the need was felt of innovation in art. In reality, the first great effort in this direction, which, like all political events unmarked by a battle or treaty, has almost always passed unnoticed, dates from the reign of Henry IV.; and the first idea of an official organization of artists and artisans intended to foster the prosperity of the manufacturing arts in France goes back to the early years of the seventeenth century. ¶ By

letters patent dated 22 December 1608, a French sort of artistic republic was established in the galleries of the Louvre. This republic was composed of both Frenchmen and foreigners with the object of bringing about a revival of industrial art in France: "Whereas," says this document, "among the endless benefits caused by the peace not the least is that which proceeds from the cultivation of the arts. . . We have also, in the construction of Our gallery of the Louvre, had the thought of ordering the building in such a form as to enable Us conveniently to lodge therein a number of the best masters that are to be found, painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, clock-makers, engravers of gems, both in order to avail ourselves of their services and also to form a training-school for workers, from which, under the guidance of such good masters, should come artisans who would disperse throughout Our Kingdom and be able to serve the public to very good purpose." This same instrument granted lodgings in the Louvre to goldsmiths like Pierre Courtois and Nicolas Roussel; to sculptors like Pierre Franqueville; to Julien de Fontenoy, the engraver of precious stones; to Guillaume Dupré, the controller of mint stamps; to Laurent Starbe, joiner and cabinet-maker; to sword-forgers and damaskeeners; to makers of mathematical instruments; to weavers of high-warp tapestry. ¶ All these artists were allowed to have apprentices, who, thanks to a most fortunate relaxation of the rules of the corporations, became masters in their turn without having to serve any other apprenticeship or produce master-pieces of their own. The door thus opened, from the artistic point of view, to every novelty and every liberty constituted a genuine revolution. A very efficacious blow was struck at the supremacy of the corporations, whose stringent regulations had certainly done services in the past; but these had now become out of date and could no longer be aught but a hindrance to the development of art, a perpetual obstacle, tending to

Furniture
of the Seven-
teenth and
Eighteenth
Centuries

suppress any sign of personality. ¶ The creation of the Royal Manufactory of Crown Furniture, established at the Gobelins under Louis XIV., was but the logical outcome of this institution of Henry IV. I would observe, besides, that this earlier institution in no way ceased to exist under Louis XIV., and that numbers of notable artists, the Boules, for instance, were always attached to the artistic workshops of the Louvre. The most important fact to note at this moment is not only the birth of an artistic establishment of this kind, but the readiness with which foreign artists were welcomed there. The Kings of France continued the traditions of the Court of the previous century, at which Italians, Germans and Flemings had been so liberally received. From this happy mingling of the most diverse artistic influences was born the French style of the eighteenth century. Laurent Starbe was a Fleming; Jean Macé, the cabinet-maker of Blois, had studied in Flanders; Hanemann, the mosaic-worker, was a German; Pierre Boule, the cabinet-maker, doubtless a relation of André Charles Boule, was a Swiss. These few names are sufficient to show that at that time the tendency of French art pointed rather in the direction of Teutonic art: it was the period of German and Flemish cabinets, a fashion which dated back to the sixteenth century. ¶ A new direction was to be given to fashion by Richelieu and Mazarin, who, while continuing to employ the Flemings whom they found ready installed, introduced to France from Italy the cabinet-

makers, mosaic-workers and workers in bronze who were to leave so deep an influence upon the style of the period of Louis XIV. ¶ This is not the place in which to quote the numerous inventories of furniture of this period which describe the works of those artists and allow us, with the aid of specimens still extant, to form an exact idea of the internal decoration of the time: cabinets in cedar or marquetry, in ebony inlaid with tin or ivory, in ebony with architectural adornments of coloured marble containing allegorical figures: all this furniture is the work of Laurent Starbe or of the Dutchman Pieter Goler, purveyor to Mazarin, who had sent for him to France even as he had sent to Italy for the bronze-workers Domenico Cucci and Filippo Cafferi. These artists, together with Francesco Bordoni, sculptor to King Louis XIII., and the Florentine mosaic-workers, Fernando and Orazio Migliorini and Luigi Giacetti, or Branchi, were the first to import direct into France the first elements of the Louis XIV. style. ¶ But fashion was not enough to unite these diverse elements, to co-ordinate them, to direct them, to blend them into a perfect whole: it wanted a sole managing hand. It was the great merit of Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV., to discover the necessary man in the person of Charles Le Brun; and it is the part which the latter played, together with the establishment of the Royal Manufactory of Crown Furniture, that we will now proceed to study in detail.

(To be continued.)



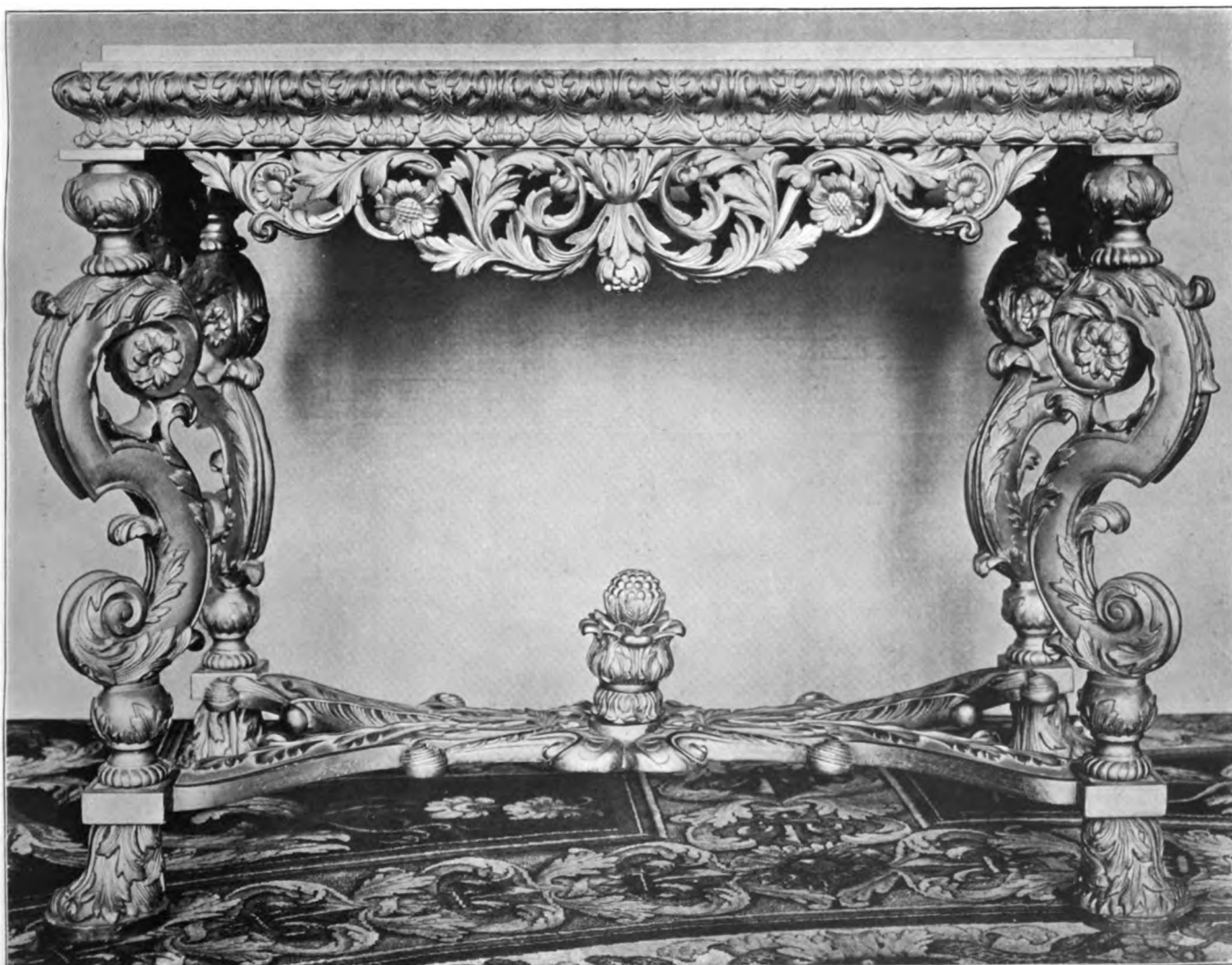
HIGH WARP TAPESTRY, LOUIS XIV. VISITING THE ROYAL FURNITURE MANUFACTORY AT THE GOBELINS, AFTER CHARLES LE BRUN. LOUVRE



MARQUETRY CUPBOARD IN EBONY, BRASS AND TORTOISE-SHELL, BY ANDRÉ CHARLES BOULE. LOUIS XIV. LOUVRE



LARGE WOODEN CONSOLE, CARVED AND GILT. LOUIS XIV LOUVRE



WOODEN CONSOLE, CARVED AND GILT. .LOUIS XIV. LOUVRE




The three Marys at the Sepulchre. from the picture by Halbert van Eyck in the possession of Sir Frederick Cook. Bart. M.P.

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE BRUGES EXHIBITION OF 1902

✿ WRITTEN BY W. H. JAMES WEALE ✿

ARTICLE I.

S in spring time Nature gives us new proofs of her vigour by the green shoots which betoken the advent of flower and fruit, so may we hope that the renewed interest in the history of art and in the lives and works of the great masters gives promise of a fresh harvest in the field of research. It augurs well indeed for the twentieth century that so much has already been undertaken since its commencement. In no particular direction has this revival of interest been more marked than with regard to the Early Netherlandish School of Painting. Despite the fact that the names of a certain number of artists who had fallen into oblivion are now familiar to us, and that the biographies of others have been cleared of legendary details, the early history of this School is still shrouded in mist, and much remains to be done ere the veil shall be lifted. Numerous are the records that have yet to be subjected to careful examination, and few are those who have time and patience to devote themselves to this unremunerative work. ¶ The authorship of a certain number of works has been established by documentary evidence; the date and local origin of many others have been ascertained, and it is only by comparison with these that an opinion can be formed as to the probable authorship of others. The practice common to almost all museums of assigning pictures to particular masters without having any positive grounds for their attribution has done much to mislead students and to retard progress. Pictures in any one public or private collection can be easily compared and points of resemblance and difference noted, but when comparison has to be made between works far removed from each other,

the memory is apt to be treacherous, and even photographs easily mislead one's judgment. ¶ Hence the gathering together in one exhibition of the works attributed to a particular master or school is most valuable. It was owing to his conviction on this point that the writer of the present article, with the assistance of two other members of the Guild of Saint Thomas and Saint Luke, Mr. Jules Helbig and Mgr. Bethune, organized an exhibition at Bruges in 1867, which included 223 works by masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, eight of which have since found a permanent home in the Museums of Aachen, Berlin, Brussels, and Paris. The Burlington Fine Arts Club, in 1892, and the Directors of the New Gallery, in 1899, gathered together, the former 60 and the latter 105 paintings of the school. But the Exhibition held at Bruges last summer was far more important than any of the preceding, and it is to be hoped that it will lead to much greater results. ¶ Its organizers had three objects in view; they wished (1) to enable students to compare works attributed to painters who flourished in Bruges with the authentic master-pieces there preserved, which in the case of John van Eyck, Memlinc, Gerard David, John Prévost, Albert Cornelis, Peter Pourbus, and the Claeissens are, and will always be, the standard by which a right judgement as to the authenticity of works attributed to these masters can be formed; (2) to stimulate the Belgians to renewed research in their archives; and (3) to induce the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to devote a little more attention to the many fine works still in their care, those in the hands of the former being at present housed in a disgracefully miserable building; and those in the churches terribly neglected and apparently only looked on by the church-

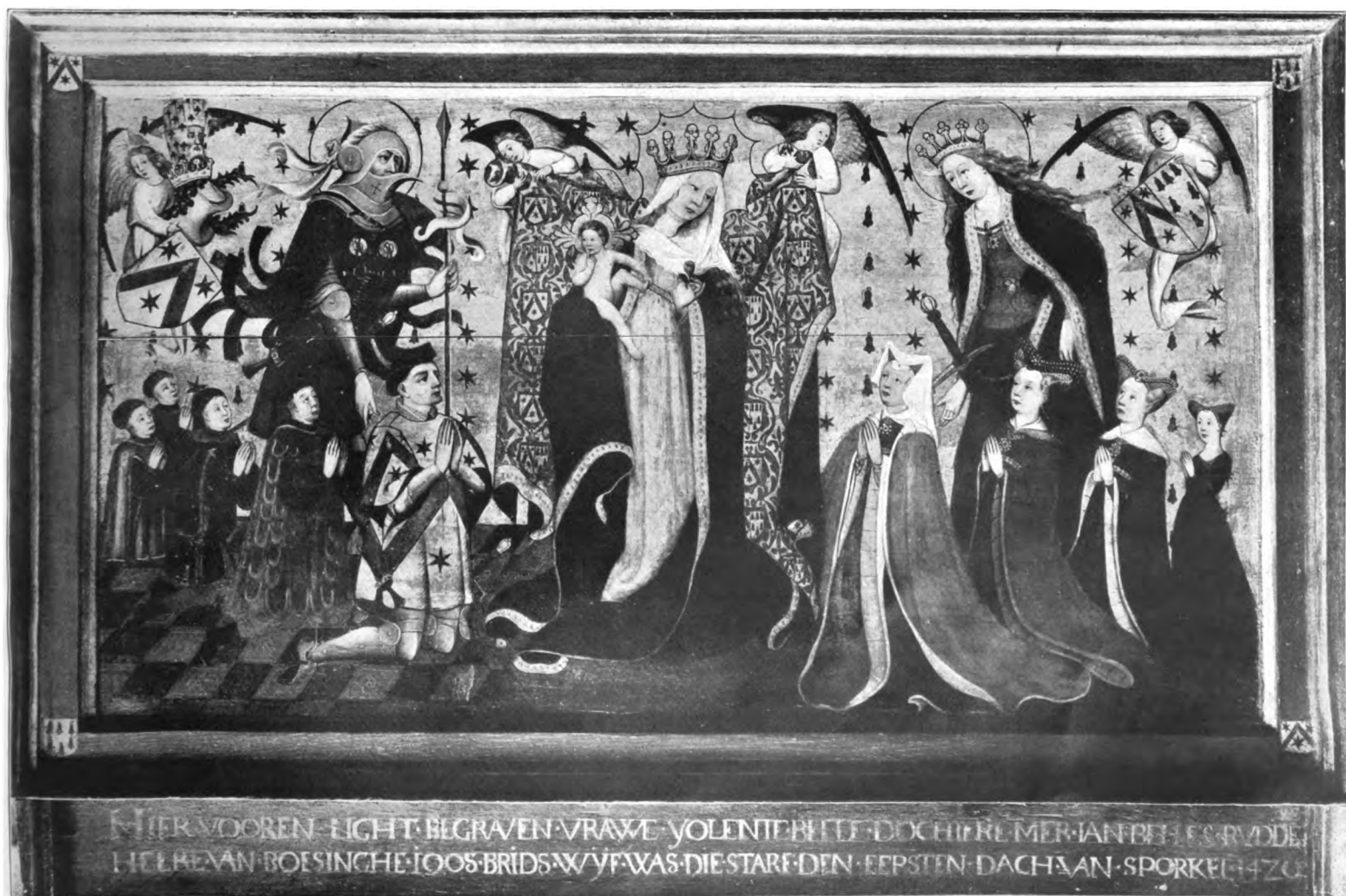
wardens as a source of revenue. ¶ The Exhibition was visited by some 35,000 persons; a large number of reviews and criticisms have appeared; others are announced, and so far the organizers have reason to be content with the result of their labours. A society of "Friends of the Museum" of Bruges has been started, and a movement set on foot which, it is to be hoped, will lead to the building of a proper Museum, which, while remaining true to local traditions of style, shall be so designed as to enable the pictures to be seen to the best advantage. ¶ No better locality could have been chosen for the Exhibition than Bruges, where the works of the old masters were seen in their native atmosphere. Unfortunately, the Hotel of the Provincial Government, a pseudo-medieval building, in which the pictures were exhibited, was ill adapted for the purpose, but it was the only building in the town in which they could be securely housed. Hither then were brought from Holland, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, as also from other localities in Belgium, from museums and private collections, a large number of paintings, many of which had in days gone by adorned the churches and houses of Bruges. It is a pity that a number of little-known pictures still preserved in the town and province were not included in the collection instead of those by Breugel, Van Rillaer, Rombouts, and Goltz, which were out of harmony with the large majority of the works exhibited. ¶ The methods of painting practised by Netherlandish masters at the end of the fourteenth and during the first years of the fifteenth century, were illustrated by four panels—one executed at Ypres, one at Bruges, the third probably and the fourth certainly at Dijon, by one or other of the artists associated with Melchior Broederlam of Ypres; these two last are inferior both in design and execution to the shutters of the carved altarpiece painted by Broederlam in the last years of the fourteenth century for the Charterhouse of Dijon and now preserved in the

Museum of that town. ¶ The Ypres picture (1) may be taken as a fair specimen of the mural memorials (more frequently executed in coloured sculpture or incised stone or brass) of deceased persons, placed in proximity to their tombs. The Virgin is here attired in a lilac robe and blue mantle; the crimson cloth of honour, supported by two angels, is adorned with escutcheons charged with the arms of Bride and Belle. At the dexter side, Sir Jodoc Bride, wearing an heraldic tabard over a suit of plate armour, kneels with his four sons protected by Saint George. Opposite them Dame Yolande Belle, his wife, is praying devoutly to our Lady, who bends graciously towards her; she is clad in a scarlet dress and a purplish-red mantle trimmed with white fur. Three maidens kneel behind their mother and are protected by Saint Catherine. The picture retains its original frame, at the foot of which is the epitaph of the lady, who died on the 1st of February, 1421. The painting may have been executed in her life time, but certainly not long before this date. ¶ The Calvary picture of the Tanners (4) was painted in Bruges at the end of the fourteenth century, but the name of the painter is unknown. There is no great difference between the technical execution of this and that of other contemporary paintings executed in the Low Countries. The draperies of the figures are painted with colours mixed in oil. The composition shows considerable skill, and the general effect is decidedly pleasing. The figure of Christ is incorrectly drawn and the soldiers awkwardly posed; the treatment of the female figures is happier; the Saints Catherine and Barbara, two virgin martyrs, who constantly occur in pictures of the school, are even graceful. ¶ Hubert van Eyck was represented by two early pictures. The larger of these, the three Marys at the Tomb of our Lord (7), once belonged to Philip de Comines, whose arms are painted in the lower sinister corner. In later times it formed part of the collections of Mr. Bernard Bauwens and of Mr. William



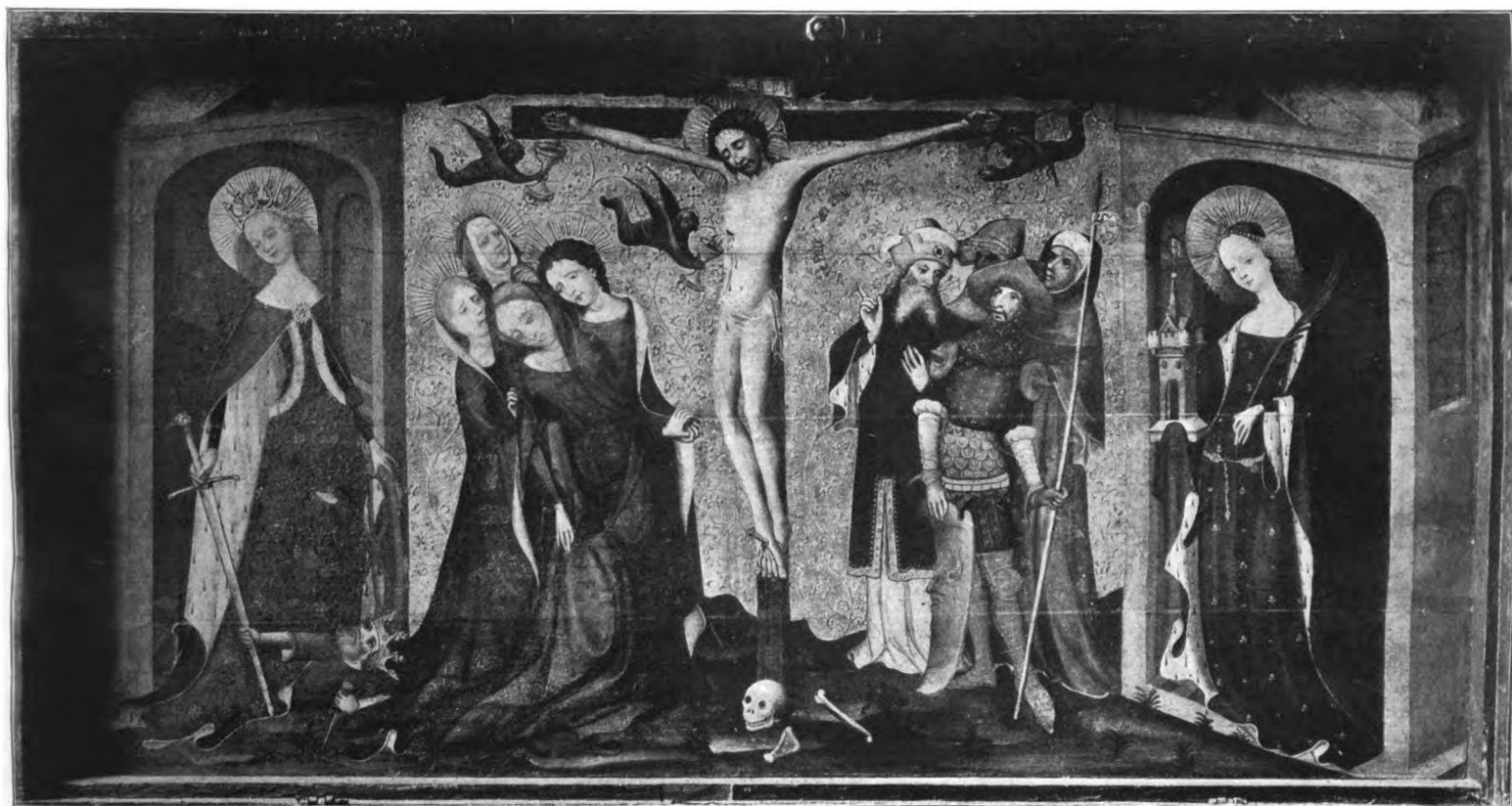
CALVARY, WITH SS. CATHERINE AND BARBARA, C.1400 PAINTER UNKNOWN

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. SAVIOUR, BRUGES



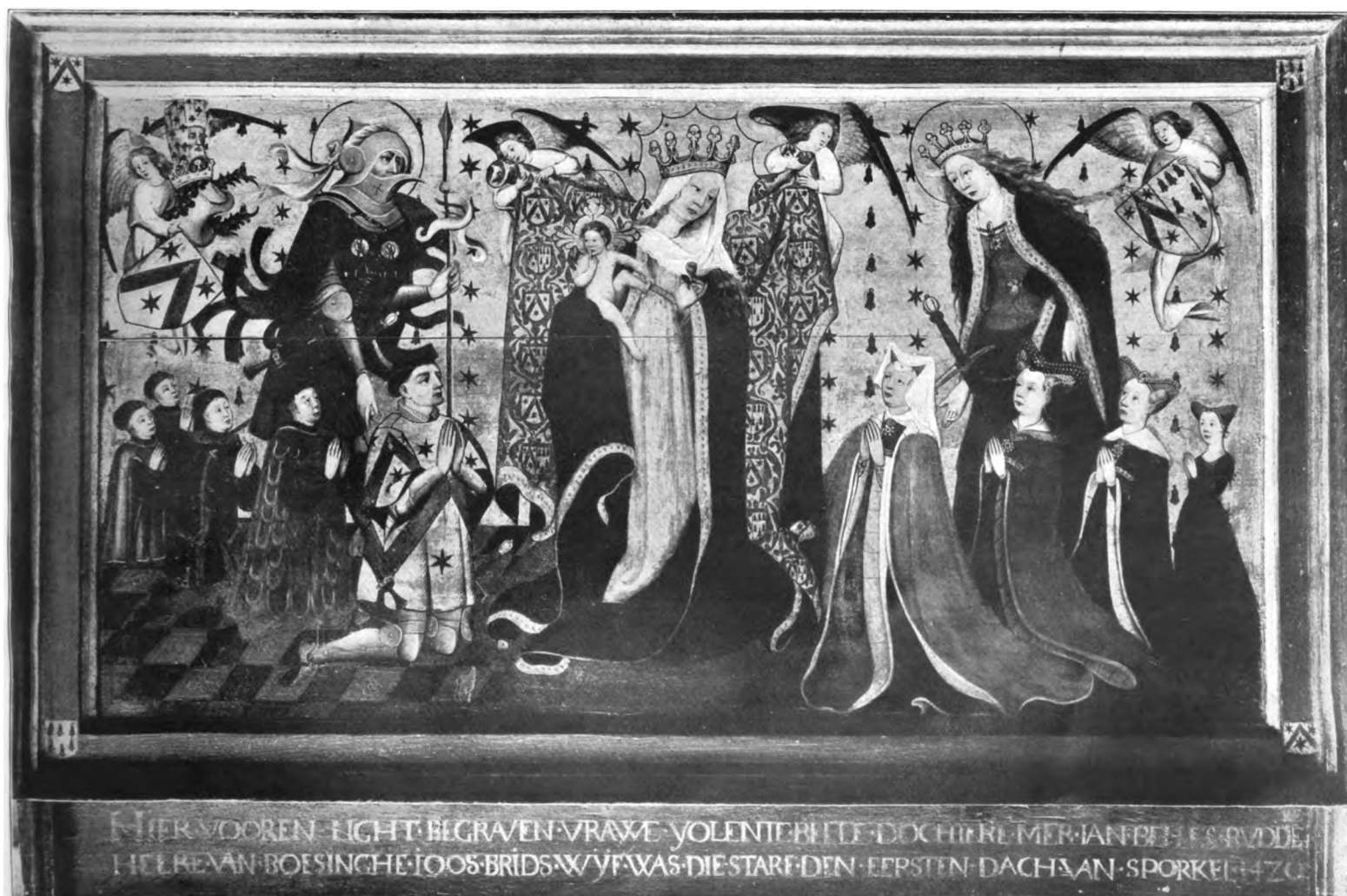
THE B. VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SS. GEORGE AND CATHERINE, DONORS AND FAMILY PAINTER UNKNOWN

HOSPICE BELLE, YPRES



CALVARY, WITH SS. CATHERINE AND BARBARA, C.1400 PAINTER UNKNOWN

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. SAVIOUR, BRUGES



THE B. VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SS. GEORGE AND CATHERINE, DONORS AND FAMILY PAINTER UNKNOWN

HOSPICE BELLE, YPRES



PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S WIFE BY JAN VAN EYCK

MUSÉE COMMUNALE, BRUGES



PORTRAIT BY HUBERT VAN EYCK

GYMNASÉ, HERMANNSTADT

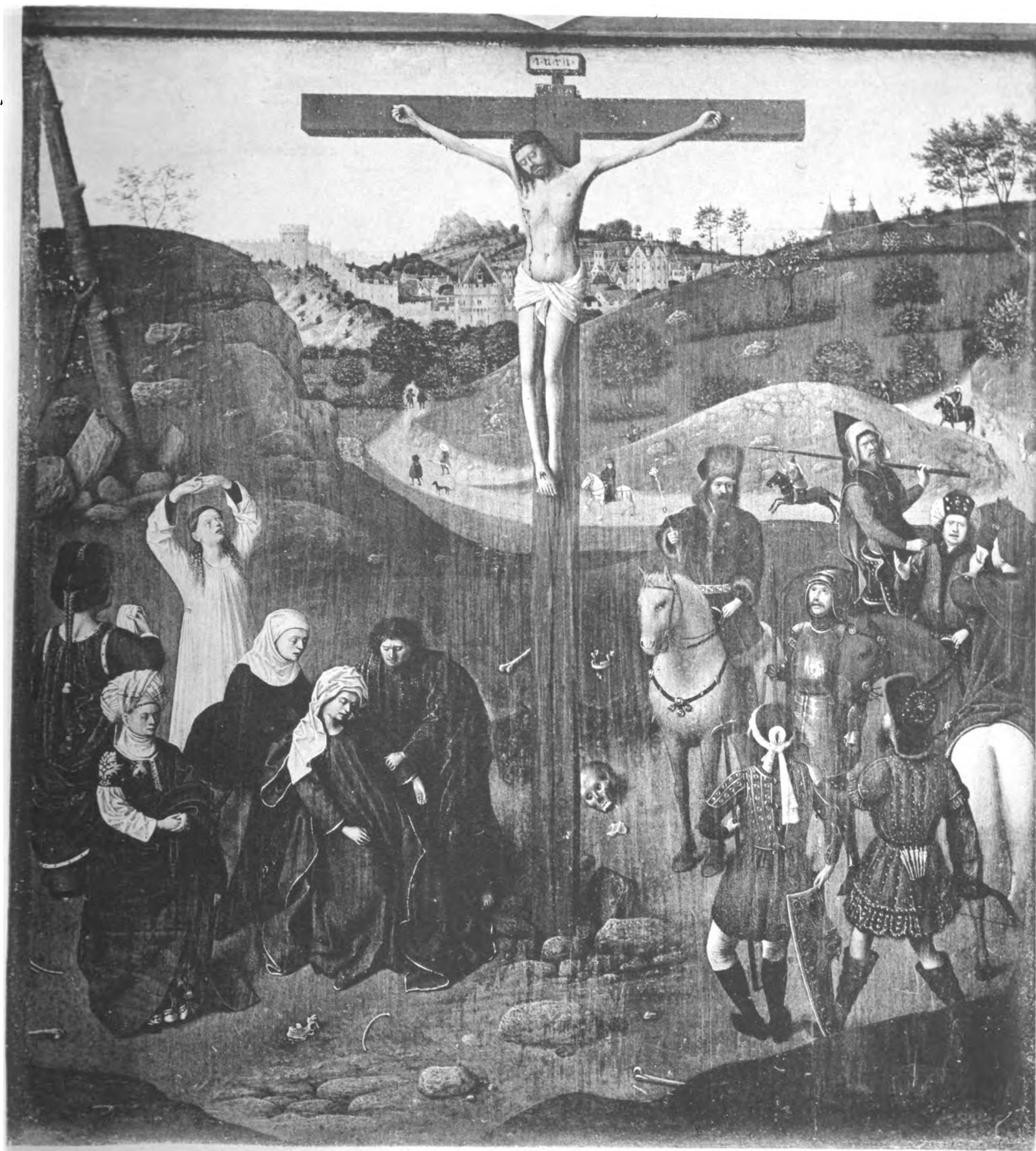
Middleton, of Brussels, at whose sale in 1872 it passed into the possession of the late Sir Francis Cook, and it is now one of the glories of the fine collection at Richmond, of which Sir Frederick Cook is the present owner. Compared with the paintings just noticed, and even with the best of Broederlam's works, the progress here shown is most remarkable. The backgrounds of diaper work or of conventional rocks and trees are here replaced by a landscape founded on a serious study of nature. True, the landscape, as in Hubert's other pictures, is not realistic, but poetical; its component parts however are natural, though the rocks and the foliage of the trees are imperfectly rendered and prove this to be an early work. The perspective, too, is faulty; not only is the cover of the open tomb incorrectly drawn, but the feet of the furthest soldier are larger than those in the immediate foreground. However, even in this early picture, Hubert shows himself already able to give life to, and express varied movements in, his figures, as John never succeeded in doing. The angel is clearly speaking, and Magdalene listening in rapt attention, whilst the soldiers are sleeping so soundly that one can almost hear them snore. The landscape and the architecture in the background, so closely resembling that in the small Calvary at Berlin, have been discussed elsewhere, and it now appears certain that Hubert must have travelled far and wide before settling in Ghent; this is proved, not only by the southern plants in this and other pictures evidently drawn from nature, but also by the architecture. It is, however, impossible to believe that the view of Jerusalem was painted from a sketch made by himself on the spot and modified to suit the exigencies of the picture, as suggested by a writer in *The Times*, of November 21, 1902. It is far more probable that Hubert obtained from some pilgrim a general idea of the topography; he may even have seen a plan of the city and a sketch of the Temple, and have supplied the remainder from his imagination. It is

certain that he dealt in this manner with the architectural backgrounds of other works. Thus, in the picture painted a little later for the Carthusian nunnery of Saint Anne *ter Woestine*, near Bruges, the sinister half of the background is formed by a group of London churches crowded together, conspicuous amongst them being Old Saint Paul's, whilst the dexter half represents a portion of the same view of the Maas as appears in Chancellor Rolin's picture at the Louvre. ¶ The colouring of the picture is harmonious, though marred in parts, e.g., in the blue mantle of one of the Marys, by restoration. The curious headdresses and armour of the soldiers are wonderfully reproduced. Another remarkable feature is the admirable manner in which the early morning light is rendered; the sun, which has just risen, is hidden from view by rocks on the dexter side, but the light from it has caught the towers that crown the hills on the opposite side, while the lower portion of the city in the centre is still in shadow. This attention to the varied effects of light is, so far as I am aware, not found in the works of any other master of the first half of the fifteenth century, and is another proof of the immense superiority of Hubert over his contemporaries and successors. ¶ The only other work by Hubert exhibited was the portrait of a young man (15) wearing a blue headdress and holding a ring in his right hand. This hitherto little-known picture belongs to the Gymnasium of Herrmannstadt in Transylvania. It is a remarkably fine work, though it has suffered at the hands of a restorer, who has enlarged the panel and added, in the upper dexter corner, Dürer's cipher and the date 1497. The scarf forming the man's headgear has its edges cut into the shape of foliage, a fashion which came into vogue at the end of the fourteenth century, but died out before 1420; yet oddly enough some critics have ventured to say that the juxtaposition of this portrait to the Three Marys at the Tomb made the ascription of that picture to Hubert appear doubtful. I would draw their

The Early Painters of the Netherlands as Illustrated by the Bruges Exhibition of 1902

attention not only to the tender expression of the face, the admirable modelling of the hands, but also to their pose, so different from and so far superior to that in John's portrait of the Bruges goldsmith John De Leeuw, also represented holding a ring, or indeed to any authenticated portrait by John. ¶ The series of pictures by the latter, dating from 1421 until his death in 1440, was sufficiently complete to enable students to form a fairly correct judgement of the qualities distinguishing his work from that of his brother. The earliest, the Enthronement of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire (8), has been entirely repainted; the composition, the colour, and every detail of the architecture, costumes, and furniture, betray the hand of a painter of the sixteenth century. The inscription at the foot, dated October 30, 1421, has, however, been too long in existence to be the work of a forger. If only some portion of the surface paint could be removed, it is probable that the original work of John would come to light. This would do more than anything else to clear up the history of the relative position of the two brothers, and would show what were John's powers at that date. ¶ The next pictures in chronological order are the two outer panels of the upper portion of the Ghent altar-piece, completed in 1432 (9). These, as I have elsewhere shown, must have been executed at Bruges. Their height exceeds by three centimetres that of the central panel which they protected when closed, and the string-courses of the Virgin's room on the reverse do not correspond with those in the adjoining panels. Moreover, the house seen through the window, the façade of which is peculiar, is still standing in Bruges, not far from the house in which John lived. It is probable that when painting the figures of Adam and Eve he followed Hubert's design so far as their pose is concerned, but it is impossible to doubt that the figures were painted directly from living models, and this it was that drew special attention to the altar-piece,

which, for a long time afterwards, was known as the Adam and Eve altar-piece. The painting (10) executed in 1436 for George Van der Paele, Canon of the collegiate church of Saint Donatian at Bruges, lent by the Museum of that town, is so well known that I need not describe it here. In no work more than in this has John displayed his wonderful technical skill; in none are his limitations, his narrowness of vision, his want of religious, aye, even of poetical, feeling more plainly revealed. ¶ A small panel (11) lent by the Earl of Northbrook, previously exhibited at Burlington House and at the New Gallery, has by several critics been described as an early copy of the Virgin and Child in the Paele altar-piece. A careful comparison of the two pictures has confirmed my belief in its authenticity. It is not a copy but a careful study from life of the same models with notable differences in the drawing of the Child and of the Mother's head. ¶ Of John's later work three examples were shown: the portrait of his wife (12), the Blessed Virgin and Child by a fountain (13), dated 1439, and the large triptych (14) from the church of Saint Martin at Ypres, on which he was engaged when he died in 1440. The portrait is a marvellous example of John's powers of observation and of reproducing faithfully and frankly in its minutest details what he saw before him. Yet one cannot help feeling that the lady might have been a stranger, so far is the picture from conveying a distinct impression of her character. The types of the Mother and Child in the two last works are far more pleasing than in his earlier pictures. It would seem as if towards the end of his life he became more mindful of his brother's example; the composition of the Virgin and Child by the fountain is evidently based on a work of Hubert's, of which there is an early copy in the Museum of Berlin; the background of the latter is filled with southern flora, for which John substituted roses and a cloth of honour held by two angels. The Virgin



CALVARY, PAINTER UNKNOWN.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DUC D'ANHALT

and Child in the Ypres triptych, lent by Mr. G. Helleputte, are remarkably fine, and clearly show the influence of Hubert's types; bits of the landscape that have escaped the restorer's hand are also remarkable for their prosaic rendering of the minutest details, treated as in the background of the Saint Barbara of 1437 in the Museum of Antwerp. ¶ Of other works attributed by their owners to John, one, the portrait of an old man (16), lent by Baron Albert Oppenheim, is remarkably fine, but of much later date, and probably the work of a German painter. ¶ There is no master of the school as to the facts of whose biography such confused notions are prevalent as even the best art critics of the present time seem to entertain in regard to Peter Christus—none of whom it can be more clearly shown how the apocryphal biography was manufactured. Until 1833 nothing more was known of him than his name included in the list of Netherlandish painters published by Guicciardini in 1566. In 1833, Passavant, in cleaning a panel which he had acquired from the Aders collection, brought to light an inscription with a date which he read as 1417. As this picture, which according to the critics rivalled John van Eyck's for grace and Hubert's for power, was evidently the work of a practised artist, the date of his birth was at once set down as about 1393; moreover as some of the accessories in this and other pictures figured also in paintings by the Van Eycks, he was declared by some to have been the pupil of Hubert, by others of John. In accordance with this theory he was said to have lived at Bruges; but as another picture was known to have been painted by him for the guild of goldsmiths at Antwerp, he was stated to have resided alternately at Bruges and Antwerp; and as mention occurs in a chronicle of Cologne of a painter of the name of Christophsen, it was assumed that Christus and Christophsen were one and the same person; so Christus was stated to have made two journeys to the Rhenish city, to

have influenced the painters of that school, and certain features in his pictures were declared to have been borrowed from them. Finally, when a picture painted for Burgos was discovered, Christus was declared to have sojourned in Spain, and to have founded a school of painting at Salamanca. ¶ As Christus only came to Bruges in 1444, as his earliest picture—the portrait of Edward Grimston—is dated 1446, and as he continued working in that town until his death in 1472, it is most probable that his birth did not take place until about 1410, so that it is highly improbable that he was a pupil of Hubert's. And as to the accessories, as John van Eyck had no son, it is probable that these may have been painted from coloured patterns left by him and purchased by Christus from his widow. However, notwithstanding the documentary evidence as to Christus's life and works discovered and published by me in 1863 and 1867, this Brabanter still figures as a native of the hamlet of Baerle in East Flanders and as a pupil of Hubert van Eyck. It may perhaps be well to add here that he probably derived his surname from the fact that his father had acquired a reputation as a manufacturer of Crucifixes either painted or carved, whence the son became known as "Peter de Christus man." ¶ Two works by Christus were exhibited at Bruges, both well known, one lent by Baron A. Oppenheim, an extremely realistic picture of a Flemish goldsmith in his shop (17), meant to represent a scene in the life of Saint Godeberta and Saint Eligius, the patron of the Antwerp guild of goldsmiths, for whom the picture was painted in 1449; the other, an excellent portrait, in perfect preservation, of a young man (18), formerly in the Baring and Northbrook collections and now the property of Mr. Salting. In the collection of Captain Holford is another portrait of the same person at a more advanced age, recently exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. ¶ A small Calvary picture lent by the Duke of Anhalt (19), of which we give a full-size

reproduction, is certainly not by Christus, nor was it painted in the Netherlands, being on a panel of poplar. It bears so striking a resemblance to the work of Antonello of Messina that at first sight I took it to be by him. A closer examination, however, has convinced me that it is the work of an artist hailing from Brabant or Hainault and painting in Italy, probably at Venice. The landscape and architecture are certainly Netherlandish; the figures on the dexter side have a certain affinity to works by the early painters of Tournay. The cleverness of the composition and the dexterity with which the minutest details are painted show the painter to be one of the great unknown. I am inclined to think that the large picture of the Deposition from the Cross (20), lent by the Brussels Museum, may be an earlier work by the same hand. It certainly shows the same double influence of the schools of Haarlem and Tournay, which I have failed to recognise in any of the authenticated pictures by Christus. In both these pictures Saint Mary Magdalene is dressed in white, which is peculiar. ¶ Of the other pictures attributed to Christus one only, a small Pietà (325) belonging to M. A. Schloss of Paris, bears some resemblance to his manner. ¶ Our next illustration represents a remarkable but little known panel (6), removed some years ago from one of the chapels into the sacristy of the cathedral at Bruges. I have long been on the look out for other works by the same hand, but it was only quite recently that I found at

Madrid, in the collection of Mr. R. Traumann, the panel which he has kindly allowed me to reproduce here. The close resemblance between the two is remarkable; the scrolls bear the same texts, and the colouring is almost identical. The expression of the faces of both Christ and His Mother is very tender and sweet, and the portraits of the donors very lifelike. These pictures may, I think, be assigned with probability to an artist of the Tournay school. The figure of Christ on the cross closely resembles that in the central panel of a triptych in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (No. 1386), ascribed in the catalogue to Roger de la Pasture, but certainly neither by him nor by the Master of Flémalle.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was in type an article by M. P. Durrieu has appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, with reproductions of some miniatures in a manuscript executed for William IV. of Bavaria, Count of Holland, or for his daughter, Jacqueline, most probably before 1418, but at latest before 1421. The background of one of these miniatures, representing the Kiss of Judas, is almost identical with that in Sir F. Cook's Three Marys at the Sepulchre, and the light in it and in another miniature falls obliquely just as in that painting. Many other points of resemblance between the miniatures in the manuscript and the pictures attributed by me to Hubert prove conclusively the early date of the pictures, from which the miniaturist borrowed details.

[The numbers in brackets after the names of pictures are those of the official catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition.]



CHRIST ON THE CROSS, THE B. VIRGIN AND
DONOR PAINTER UNKNOWN

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. SAVIOUR,
BRUGES



CHRIST ON THE CROSS, THE B. VIRGIN AND DONOR
PAINTER UNKNOWN

COLLECTION OF MR. R. TRAUMANN,
MADRID

CONCERNING TINDER-BOXES

✿ WRITTEN BY MILLER CHRISTY ✿

ARTICLE I.—DOMESTIC TINDER-BOXES

DURING the century which closed so recently, our domestic life underwent enormous changes. Yet these changes were seldom both very rapid and very radical. Most new ideas, methods, or contrivances grew by more or less obvious stages out of older ideas or methods, whose essential features they retained. Thus the railway train, which grew out of and succeeded the stage-coach and the carrier's waggon, has not driven out of use entirely those earlier means of travel; nor has the introduction of coal-gas and paraffin for lighting banished altogether from our houses the candles of tallow or wax which gave light to our grandparents. ¶ Such was not the case, however, with the tinder-box when it was supplanted, in the early years of last century, by the modern friction-match. Down to about the year 1830 the tinder-box was to be found, almost as a matter of course, upon the kitchen shelf of every home in the land—cottage and mansion alike. It had been in use for ages, and had undergone little or no essential variation. Yet its disappearance was extraordinarily sudden and complete after the introduction of the friction-match, which was an entirely new contrivance for procuring fire. Less than a generation later—almost, in fact, within a decade—the tinder-box had become little more than a vague tradition of the past, and examples were to be looked for only in the cabinet of the antiquary, the cases of the museum curator, the shop of the curio-dealer, or, perchance, in some old lumber-room. Few other instances of the disappearance so suddenly of a domestic contrivance so ancient can be cited. ¶ To-day, the tinder-box is so unfamiliar an object that few persons can give an intelligible descrip-

tion of it, or its contents, or the manner of its use. Among those who have formed collections of tinder-boxes, none have finer series than Mr. Henry Balfour, of Oxford; Mr. Edward Lovett, of Croydon; Mr. H. C. Collyer, of Beddington; Mr. Edward Bidwell, of Kensington; and Mr. Roland T. Mole, of Edgbaston. The two last-named gentlemen have kindly placed their collections at my service, and another friend, Dr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., of Colchester, has supplied reminiscences of the days when the tinder-box was in actual daily use. ¶ To endeavour to trace the origin of the tinder-box is futile. Shelley declares that

Mercury first found out, for human weal,
Tinder-box, matches, fire-irons, flint, and
steel.

But we must seek evidence more authoritative than poets' fancies. The very name of the tinder-box carries us back to early days, for the obsolete English verb, to *tind* or *tindle*, meaning to kindle or set on fire, comes from an older Saxon verb, *tyndan*, having the same significance. But the tinder-box is vastly more ancient than even Saxon times. Long before iron was known in its smelted form, nodules of iron pyrites (disulphide of iron), such as are often found in chalk, were used with a piece of flint and some kind of "tinder" to produce fire. Such nodules have been found in French and Belgian bone-caves, in Swiss lake-dwellings, and in British barrows, in close association with pieces of flint and other relics of Neolithic man, proving beyond reasonable doubt that the use of iron pyrites as a fire-producing agent is as old, practically, as domestic life itself. Its name alone (*πυρίτης*, fire-stone) shows clearly the use to which it was put. A couple of half-nodules of iron pyrites, taken by Canon Greenwell from two barrows of

the Bronze Age at Rudstone, in Yorkshire, are here shown (Fig. I.), together with the flint flake which accompanied each. The flat fractured surface of each of the nodules

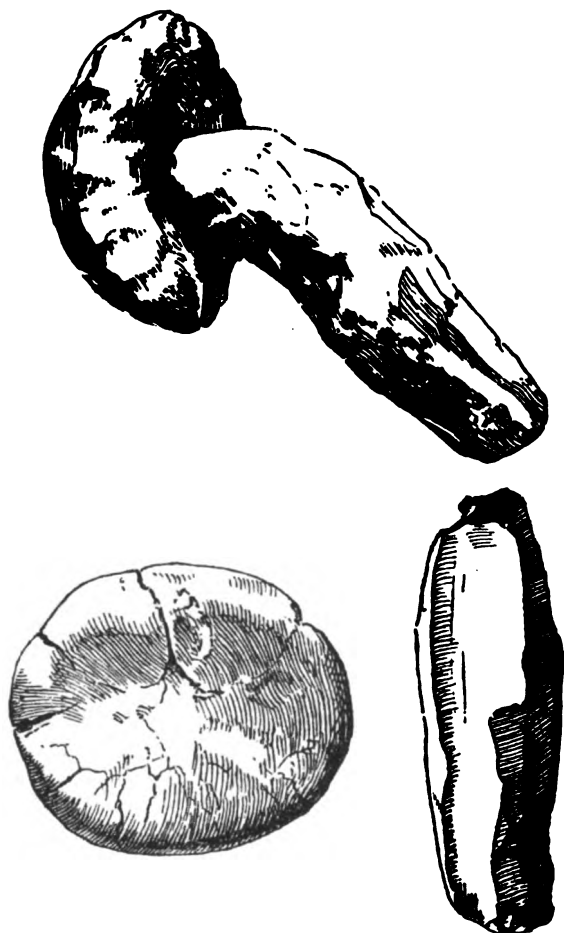


FIG. I.—Nodules of Iron Pyrites and accompanying Flint Flakes (length, about 3 ins.) from Bronze-Age barrows in Yorkshire; now in the British Museum.

shows signs of wear, owing to frequent contact of the flint with it. There can be little doubt, too, that many of the worked flints, called "scrapers" by ethnologists, and supposed to have been used for cleaning skins or bones, are really "strike-a-lights." Probably those with a more or less regular sharp cutting-edge at one side are scrapers: those with an irregular jagged edge, strike-a-lights. ¶Tinder-boxes varied infinitely in respect of size, shape, and material, though all were identical in essence. Any receptacle would serve if fitted with a lid and capable of holding conveniently some "tinder," a piece of flint, a piece of steel, and

some sulphur-matches. One of the simplest and commonest kinds in use among our grandfathers took the form of a shallow wooden box or tray, some six or eight inches long, three or four wide, and two deep—much like a small modern fig-box. This was divided into two, sometimes three, compartments. One (generally the smaller) held the tinder, and was fitted with a lid: the other held the flint, steel, and matches. Tinder-boxes of this type are in the Museums at York (Fig. II.) and Brighton (Fig. III.). Both consist, as will be seen, of two compartments; but one is divided laterally, the

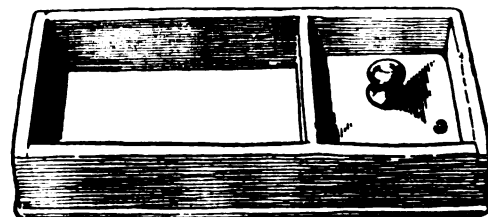


FIG. II.—Wooden Tinder-box (length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in York Museum.

other longitudinally. The Brighton example, which shows signs of hard wear, is provided at one end with a projecting handle, like that of a hair-brush. It contains some sulphur-matches and a steel of common type. A somewhat better, and probably later, example (Fig. IV.), having a sliding lid, belongs to Mr. Bidwell. It has three compartments, a long narrow one at the side being intended to hold the matches separately from the flint and steel. Tinder-

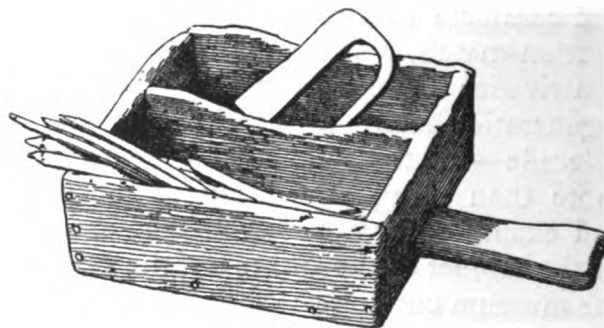


FIG. III.—Wooden Tinder-box (length 9 ins.) in Brighton Museum.

boxes of this kind were used in cottages and farmhouses, and were usually rough home-made articles, totally devoid of ornament. They are now scarcer than the more

familiar circular kind made of tin; for, as they possessed neither artistic merit nor intrinsic value, they were broken up and used to light the fire when no longer of use for their original purpose. ¶ Occasionally, however, wooden tinder-boxes were much more elaborate. One such (Fig. V.), originally the property of a tradesman at Cambridge, and now in the possession of Mr. Tregaskis, of High Holborn, is of oak, and carved most

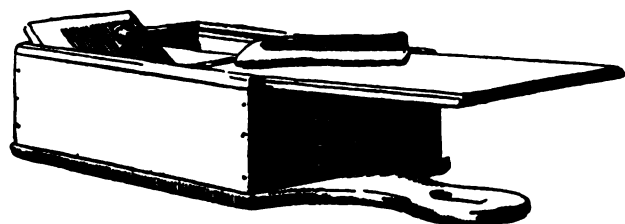


FIG. IV.—Wooden Tinder-box (length, 14 ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

elaborately on all its external faces, including the handle. The box is said to be Dutch, and belongs, probably, to the seventeenth century. Mr. Bidwell has a somewhat similar example, probably Norwegian. It is,

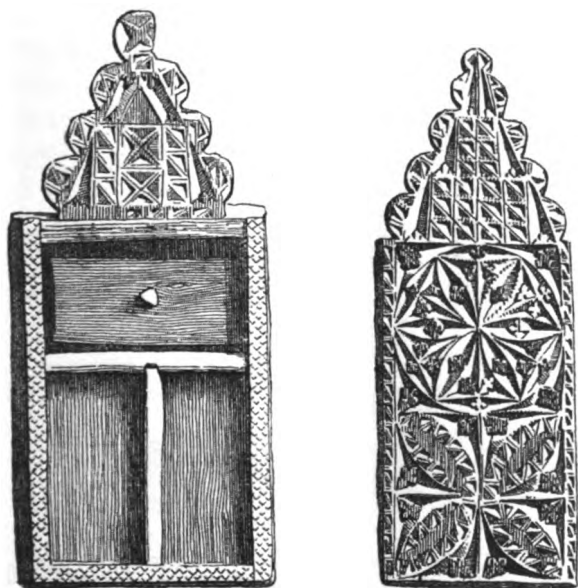


FIG. V.—Carved Wooden Tinder-box (length, 10 ins.), belonging to Mr. Tregaskis.

however, longer, narrower, less elaborately carved, and has two compartments only. Concerning Mr. Oswald Barron has another box of Boxes this type (Fig. VI.), which he procured

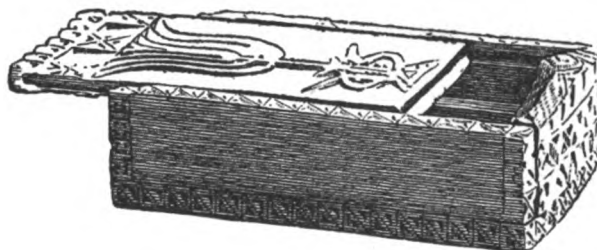


FIG. VI.—Wooden Tinder-box (length, 7½ ins.), from Flanders, belonging to Mr. Oswald Barron, F.S.A.

in Flanders. It is of oak and handsomely carved on all its faces, as shown. On the sliding lid is carved a tulip-like flower, rising from an ornamental pot. Internally it has only one division, which is longitudinal. Yet another ornamental wooden tinder-box (Fig. VII.) belongs to Mr. Mole. It is of

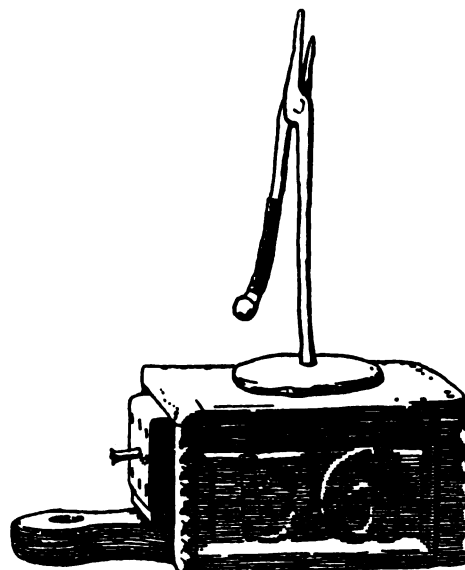


FIG. VII.—Wooden Tinder-box (length, 10½ ins.), belonging to Mr. Mole.

oak, and of very uncommon design. On one side the date (1761) is carved in large figures: on the other, the initials (N. H.) of the maker or owner. On the top, instead of a candle-socket, is an iron rush-clip, of a pattern formerly common. The usual contents are contained in an inner case or drawer. ¶ A type of tinder-box now much more

familiar was circular and made of thin sheet tin (Fig. VIII.). It was usually about four inches in diameter, two inches deep, with a tin handle like that of a cup at one side, and a tin lid which slipped on like that of a canister. On the top of the lid was a tin

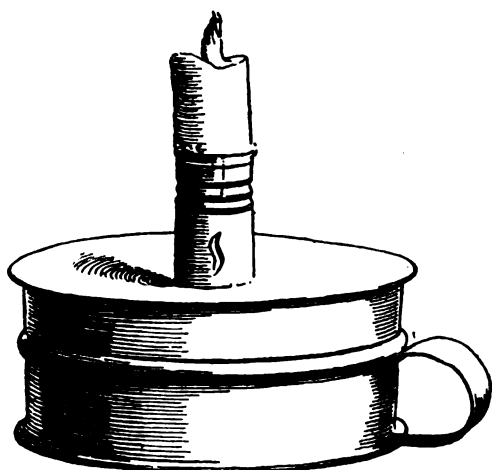


FIG. VIII.—Tin Tinder-box (diam., 4 ins.), belonging to the Writer.

socket, about an inch-and-a-half high, intended to hold a candle whilst being lighted. The lid served, therefore, both as a lid and as a candlestick. The exterior was generally "japanned," though often left bright: otherwise, these tin tinder-boxes show singularly little variation from one uniform type. Inside the box were kept the articles used in producing fire. At the bottom was the tinder. Above this was an inner lid, or "damper"—a thin disc of tin, with a small ring-handle in the middle of the upper side, by means of which it was lifted out of the box before use and replaced to extinguish the smouldering tinder after use. The edge of the damper was generally turned up slightly all round, and this turned-up edge was sometimes elegantly crimped. The steel, flint, and matches, when not in use, were kept in the box above the damper. All these objects and their uses will be noticed in greater detail hereafter. ¶ Such was the everyday tinder-box of commerce, as sold in shops or by travelling hawkers and tinkers for about sixpence each. With all its essential contents—flint, steel, tinder, and matches—it was worth less than a shilling.

Such boxes may be picked up still not infrequently in out-of-the-way places. Though devoid of beauty, they are of considerable interest, and are among the most readily-saleable of the smaller objects dealt in by curio-dealers. Occasionally, the collector comes upon an example which has never been used, as is shown by the brightness of the tin on its inner surface. These formed, probably, the stock of some whitesmith or shopkeeper at the time of the introduction of the friction-match, and were, therefore, never sold. Mr. Mole has one such; Mr. Bidwell, on one occasion, met with no less than eight together; and I purchased one (that shown in Fig. VIII.) recently at Saffron Walden. A tin tinder-box of very uncommon type is shown in Fig. IX. It is combined, as will be seen, with a large, deep, "bed-room" candlestick. On the top of the box, instead of a mere candle-socket, is a proper candle-holder, provided with a socketed slide and chained extinguisher. I purchased this tinder-box recently at Winchester. ¶ These round tinder-boxes of tin

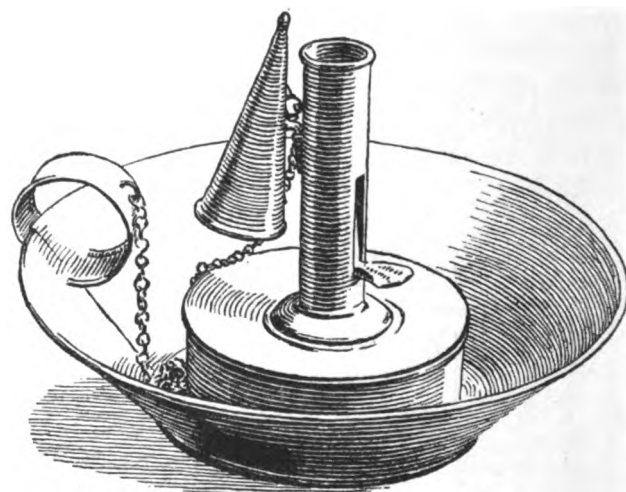


Fig. IX.—Tin Tinder-box combined with Candlestick (diam., 8½ ins.), belonging to the Writer.

were for every-day kitchen use. For bed-room or drawing-room use, better boxes were made of superior metal—sometimes of copper or brass: occasionally even of silver. Mr. Bidwell has one in brass (Fig. X.) and another (Fig. XI.) in Sheffield plate.

Examples in the latter metal are, however, so scarce that Mr. Bidwell has never seen another. These superior tinder-boxes were often tastefully ornamented and provided with long elegant handles, as the fine Dutch example shown (Fig. XII.). In passing, one may notice a type of box (Fig. XIII.) formerly common in Germany.

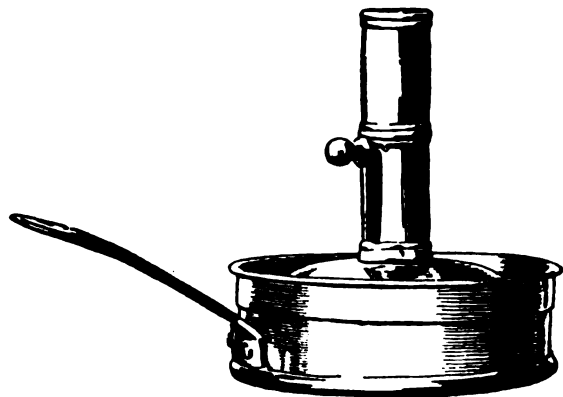


FIG. X.—Brass Tinder-box (diam., 5 ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

It is of brass, and has a sliding lid affixed to the handle. The old chisel shown with it served as a fire-steel. The neat wooden box from Japan (Fig. XIV.) is also worthy of mention. The steel is fixed in a wooden handle, and the matches take the form of thin, broad, unpointed shavings—the usual type in Japan. ¶ Among the con-

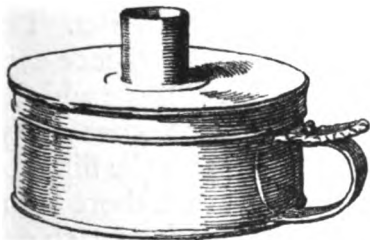


FIG. XI.—Sheffield-plate Tinder-box (diam., 4½ ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

tents of the tinder-box, the tinder, from which the box derives its name, deserves first notice. Tinder was made usually from some light, loosely-woven, cotton or linen fabric—preferably the latter. Old sheets, stockings, shirts, cotton night-caps, and the like, were saved in the rag-bag for the express purpose of making tinder. The

lighter and thinner the fabric, the better the Concerning tinder; for tinder made from any thick Tinder-closely-woven fabric did not take fire readily. Boxes When a supply of tinder was required, a



FIG. XII.—Brass Tinder-box (diam., 5 ins.) from Holland, belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

piece of rag, about one foot square, was held by one corner with the tongs and set alight. As soon as it had burned almost out, and before it was reduced to ashes, it was dropped into the open tinder-box, set ready to hand, and the damper was applied quickly to

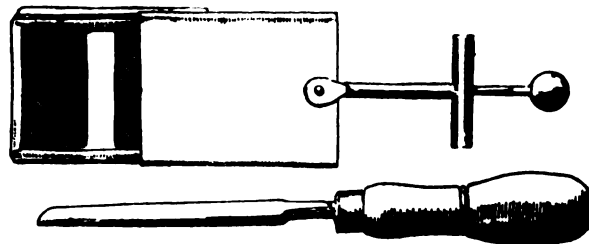


FIG. XIII.—Brass Tinder-box from Germany (length, 10½ ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

smother the flame. Another plan was to place the rag in some closed iron vessel, which was then heated till the rag was carbonized, but not consumed. A more rough-and-ready method was to place the piece of rag upon the hearth or hob and set it alight,

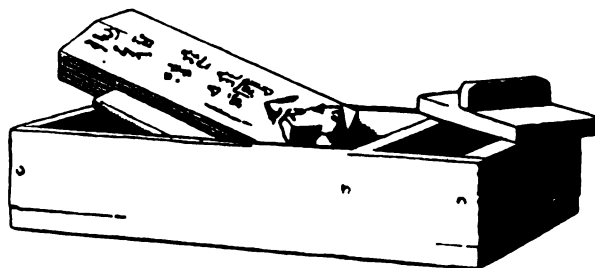


FIG. XIV.—Wooden Tinder-box from Japan (length, 7½ ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell.

extinguishing the flame at the right moment by placing the back of a fire-shovel or dust-pan upon it. Rag-tinder was always homemade, for no shopkeeper or hawker ever sold

it. The making of it was one of the minor domestic accomplishments of our grandmothers. It was undertaken weekly, or as often as required; and the operation consumed a considerable quantity of old household linen. Many of the old tinder-boxes purchased nowadays will be found still to contain portions of the original rag-tinder. ¶ Many natural vegetable substances may be made to serve as tinder in an emergency, as thistle-down, the down of the common reed-mace, the wool off the leaves of some trees, the pith of many plants, dried horse-dung, and so forth. But the commonest kind of tinder, other than rag-tinder, was Amadou, so called from the French *amadouer*, to allure or wheedle, because it coaxed the spark into a blaze. It was called also "German tinder," "black tinder," "spunk," and "pyrotechnic sponge." It was made from the inner tissue of two allied species of fungus, found growing commonly on the trunks of decaying trees (especially oak, ash, and willow) in England and other parts of Western Europe. These were gathered in the autumn. The outer skin being removed, the inner tissue was cut into slices and beaten with a mallet till it was soft enough to come to pieces in the fingers, after which it was boiled in a strong solution of saltpetre. Amadou might be made also from any of the "Puff-balls." The names of the two fungi used most commonly, namely, *Polyporus ignarius* and *Polyporus fomentarius* (derived, respectively, from the Latin *ignis*, fire, and *fomes*, tinder), show the use to which they were put. Portions of the latter fungus occur, says Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in nearly all the Swiss lake dwellings, where it was used probably by the original inhabitants for procuring fire. In German, it is called *feuerschwamm* (fire-sponge or fire-fungus). Allied to amadou was "Touch-wood"—the dry rotted wood of ash or willow trees, permeated by the growth of fungi. Its effectiveness as tinder was increased often by steeping it in chloride or nitrate of potassium. Stow says, in his "Annales" (1615),

that, when Guy Fawkes was arrested, "there was . . . found in his pocket a peece of touchwood, a tinder boxe to light the touchwood, and a watch." "Touch-paper"—a coarse absorbent paper, steeped in a solution of saltpetre and dried—was also frequently used as tinder. Travellers ignited it sometimes by placing it in the lock of a flint-lock gun and pulling the trigger, causing sparks to fly from the flint. ¶ The steel used with the tinder-box was a thin plate or strip, usually about one-eighth of an inch thick, of the most highly-tempered metal obtainable. It was called anciently a "fire-iron." In shape, it varied greatly. A surprisingly-large number took roughly the form of certain letters of the alphabet. All forms alike aimed, however, at presenting in front a more or less straight striking edge, and at the back some sort of handle which could be held conveniently in the fingers during use. The commonest form (Fig. XV.) was shaped like an inverted U. In this, the prong intended for contact with the flint was usually from three to four inches long and half-an-inch to an inch broad; and the other prong (the handle) was a narrow tapering tang, affixed to one end and bent backwards. The handle was sometimes twisted, and terminated often in a small ornamental coil. Most fire-steels of this kind will be found to have been made out of old files. They were sold usually for about fourpence each. The striking-face of most of those which the collector picks up is much worn away, owing to frequent contact with the flint. In some examples (Fig. XVI.), a short turned-back tang or handle projects from each end, forming a C-shaped steel. In others (Fig. XVII.), the ends of such handles are turned also inwards, forming a B-shaped steel. With this type should be classed that in which the handle at the back takes the form of two large coils (Fig. XVIII.). Occasionally, the ends of two handles are joined, giving a D-shaped steel (Fig. XIX.). Mr. F. N. Howard possesses an R-shaped steel, and the Brighton Museum has an I-shaped example

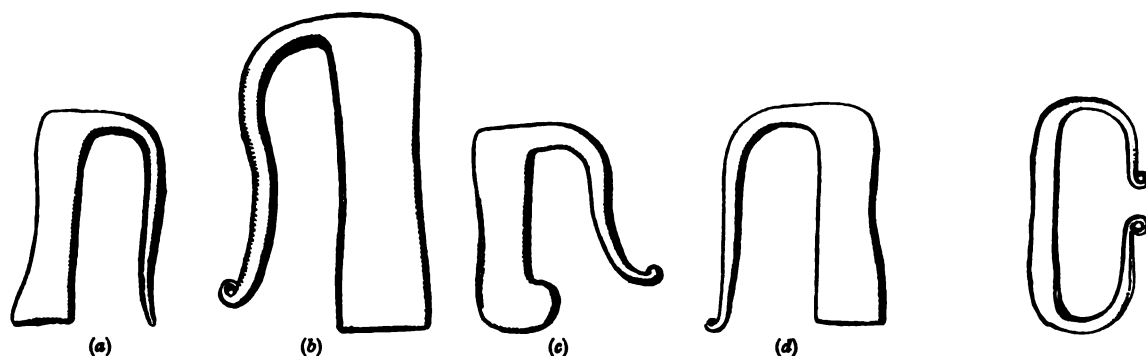


FIG. XV.—U-shaped Fire-Steels: *a* and *b* (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. respectively) from York Museum; *c* (length, 3 ins.) from Lewes Museum; *d* (length, 3 ins.) from Brighton Museum.

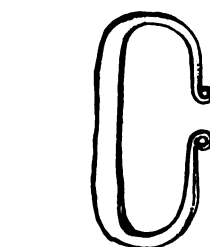


FIG. XVI.—C-shaped Fire-Steel (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the Brighton Museum.

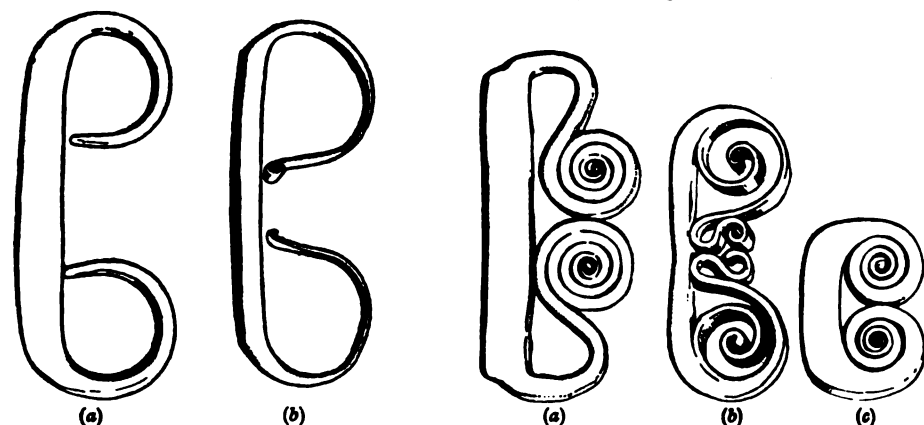


FIG. XVII.—B-shaped Fire-Steels, belonging to Mr. Bidwell: *a* (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) from Scotland; *b* (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) from Lucerne.

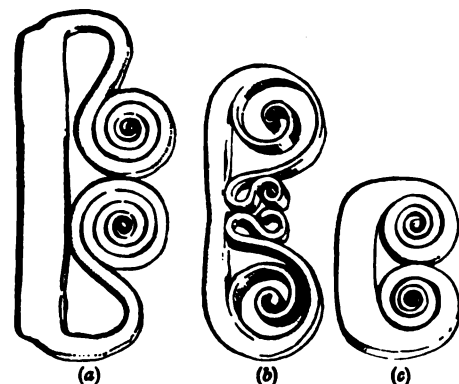


FIG. XVIII.—Fire-Steels belonging to Mr. Bidwell: *a* (length, 3 ins.) from Scotland; *b* (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) from Lucerne; *c* (length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) from Scotland.

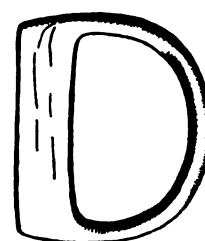


FIG. XIX.—D-shaped Fire-Steel (length, 2 ins.) belonging to Mr. Bidwell. From Scotland.



FIG. XX.—I-shaped Fire-Steel (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in Brighton Museum.

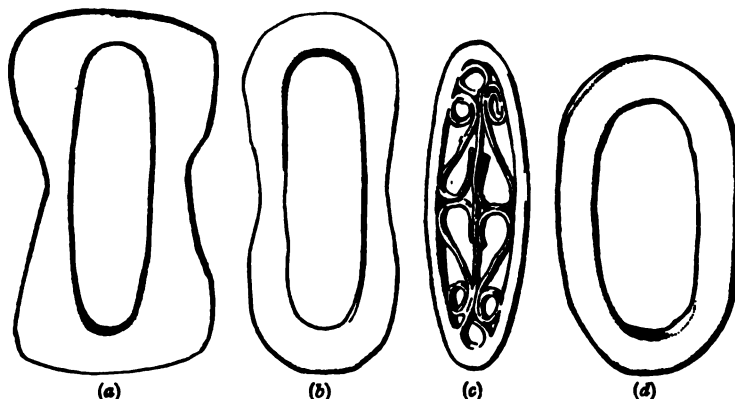


FIG. XXI.—O-shaped Fire-Steels belonging chiefly to Mr. Bidwell: *a* (length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) from Guildford; *b* (length, 4 ins.) from Lincolnshire; *c* (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) English; *d* (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in Lewes Museum.



FIG. XXII.—Scottish Fire-Steel (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) belonging to Mr. Bidwell.



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIG. XXIII.—Fire-Steels, with Animals for Handles, belonging to Mr. Bidwell: *a* (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) English; *b* (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) probably German; *c* (length, 3 ins.) English.

(Fig. XX.), which must have been very difficult to hold. Another type (Fig. XXI.) is O-shaped. Some old English steels of this type (of which *c* is an example) are filled with elegant tracery. ¶The foregoing are fairly-ordinary types. The more miscellaneous forms are infinitely varied. Mr. Bidwell has several Scottish U-shaped steels



FIG. XXIV.—Two Persian Fire-Steels belonging to Mr. Bidwell (length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. respectively).

(Fig. XXII.) which have a flat thumb-piece, affording an unusually secure hold. Sometimes a plain straight steel has a handle in the shape of an animal—a lion, a hound, or a swan (Fig. XXIII.). At other times, the steel becomes a veritable work of art, ex-

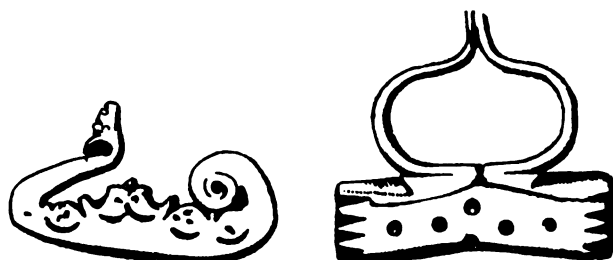


FIG. XXV.—Two Oriental Fire-Steels belonging to Mr. Bidwell (lengths of both, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.).

quisitely inlaid with gold filigree work, as in the case of two beautiful and very ancient Persian steels (Fig. XXIV.) belonging to Mr. Bidwell. That shaped like an ibis has a turquoise eye. Two other Oriental steels belonging to Mr. Bidwell are shown in Fig. XXV. Yet another couple (Fig. XXVI.), both probably English, served also as

“ember tongs,” by means of which a glowing ember might be picked up from the hearth to light a pipe in the days when paper for “spills” was expensive and the modern

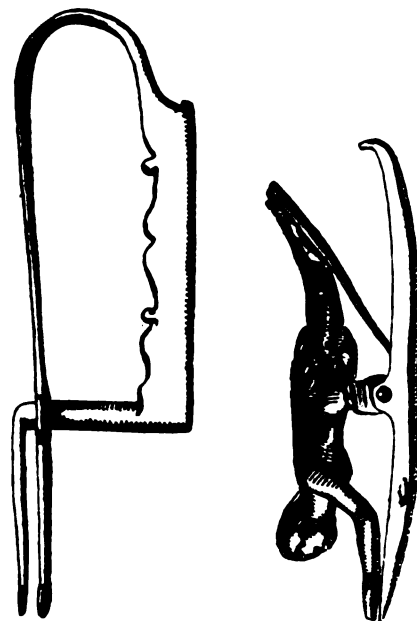


FIG. XXVI.—Combined Fire-Steels and Ember-tongs belonging to Mr. Bidwell (length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. respectively). Both English.

match unknown. In the York Museum is a small steel (Fig. XXVII.) with a curved striking edge, let into a handled socket of brass. In the Lewes Museum is a very curious steel (Fig. XXVIII.), shaped like an elongated horse-shoe, with two projections, the use of which is not obvious, on one face. ¶In the next article, the remaining contents of the tinder-box (the flint strike-a-light and

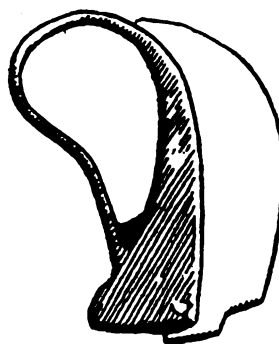


FIG. XXVII.—Brass-handled Fire-Steel (length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in York Museum.



FIG. XXVIII.—Fire-Steel (length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the Lewes Museum.

the sulphur-match) will be noticed, as well as the manner of using the tinder-box.

(To be continued.)

A LOST "ADORATION OF THE MAGI" BY SANDRO BOTTICELLI

✎ WRITTEN BY HERBERT P. HORNE ✎



SOME few years ago, an unfinished painting of an "Adoration of the Magi" by Sandro Botticelli, was brought from the Magazines of the Uffizi, and placed on an easel in front of the unfinished altarpiece of the same subject by Leonardo da Vinci, in the second room of the Tuscan Masters. The director of the gallery, in placing the one panel in front of the other, had no doubt remarked what must be apparent to every student of Florentine Art. Although the two pictures present great differences of manner, draughtsmanship, and technique, they bear a resemblance to one another, in so far as the conception of the subject is concerned, which cannot be merely accidental. The contention that Botticelli was among those who fell under the influence of Leonardo, has pre-occupied more than one writer; and the late Eugène Müntz, following in the steps of Herr Müller Walde, has propounded this theory at length in his "Studi Leonardeschi," which appeared in the "Archivio Storico dell' Arte" for 1897.¹ I do not here propose to examine the arguments which Professor Müntz has adduced. Nothing, certainly, which he has brought forward, gives so much colour to his contention, as the relation which exists between these two compositions. That one painter was influenced by the other can scarcely be doubted; but it remains a question whether Botticelli was influenced by Leonardo, or Leonardo by Botticelli. And perhaps this question will not be satisfactorily decided until the dates, not only of the paintings in question, but also of the other extant "Adorations" by Botticelli, have been determined. ¶ It is now, I think, a matter of general agreement among students, that the unfinished

¹ Ser. II., Vol. III., p. 1.

painting by Leonardo in the Uffizi, No. 1252, was the altarpiece begun by him for the High Altar of the San Donato a Scopeto, in March, 1480-1,² and left unfinished at the time of his departure from Florence, c. 1482, to enter the service of the Duke of Milan. In a recent number of *The Monthly Review*, I have endeavoured to show that the "Adoration of the Magi," once in the church of Santa Maria Novella, and now in the Uffizi, No. 1286, was executed c. 1477. The two smaller "Adorations" in the National Gallery, which still pass under the name of Filippino Lippi, are yet earlier works: No. 592 was probably executed c. 1468, while Botticelli had newly come under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuoli; and No. 1033 at a somewhat later period, and certainly before the altarpiece once in Santa Maria Novella had been painted. Of a later date than any of these pictures, is the "Adoration" in the Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, No. 3. This painting, which undoubtedly belongs to the same period of Botticelli's art as the Sistine frescoes, is said to have come from one of the great Roman collections at the time of the Napoleonic invasion of Italy. I suspect that it may be the "Adoration of the Magi" which, according to the "Anonimo Gaddiano," Botticelli painted during his stay in Rome: "In Roma dipinse anchora, et faceuj una tauola dj magi che fu la piu [? bella] opera che maj facessj."² If that conjecture be correct, it was painted between the spring of the year 1481, and the autumn of 1482; during the very time that Leonardo was engaged upon the altarpiece begun for San Donato a Scopeto. ¶ The date of the unfinished "Adoration" in the Uffizi still remains to be determined; but before I attempt to discuss

¹ G. Milanesi, in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," 1872, Ser. III., Vol. XVI., p. 228.

² Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Codice Magliabechiano, XVII., 17, fol. 85 recto.

this question, I wish to speak of another "Adoration of the-Magi" by Botticelli, a work which seems to have been painted some years after the little altarpiece which was once in the church of Santa Maria Novella. This painting had already disappeared in the 16th century, and the only record of it is a brief notice preserved by the "Anonimo Gaddiano." "There is by his hand," says that writer, in his account of Botticelli, "in the Palazzo de' Signori, above the staircase that leads to the 'Catena,' the story of the three Magi."¹ This public staircase, which was on the north side of the Palazzo Vecchio, formed a part of the original fabric of the palace; but it was almost entirely rebuilt by Michelozzo Michelozzi, at the time when he secured the campanile, rebuilt the arches in the courtyard, and carried out other works there, shortly after 1450. Vasari, in the second edition of the "Lives," has left the following account of this staircase, which he himself had then lately replaced by the present staircase of the palace. "One thing alone the ingenuity of Michelozzo was unable to remedy, namely, the public staircase; since, from the first, it had been ill-contrived, ill-placed, and badly constructed; steep and without light, and with wooden steps from the first floor upwards. Nevertheless he set to work in such sort, that at the entrance in the courtyard, he made a flight of circular steps and a doorway with pilasters of 'pietra forte,' etc., "and, what is more, he made all the steps of 'pietra forte,' up to the floor where the Signoria was lodged; and he fortified them at the top, and in the middle, with two portcullises, in case of tumults; and at the head of the stair he made a door which is called the 'Catena,' where was continually stationed a 'tavolaccino,' who opened and shut it according as the order was given him by whoever was in office."² Elsewhere, Vasari records that Antonio Pollaiuoli "executed in the Palazzo della Signoria, at the door of the 'Catena,' a 'St. John the

¹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Codice Magliabechiano, XVII., 17, fol. 84 recto.

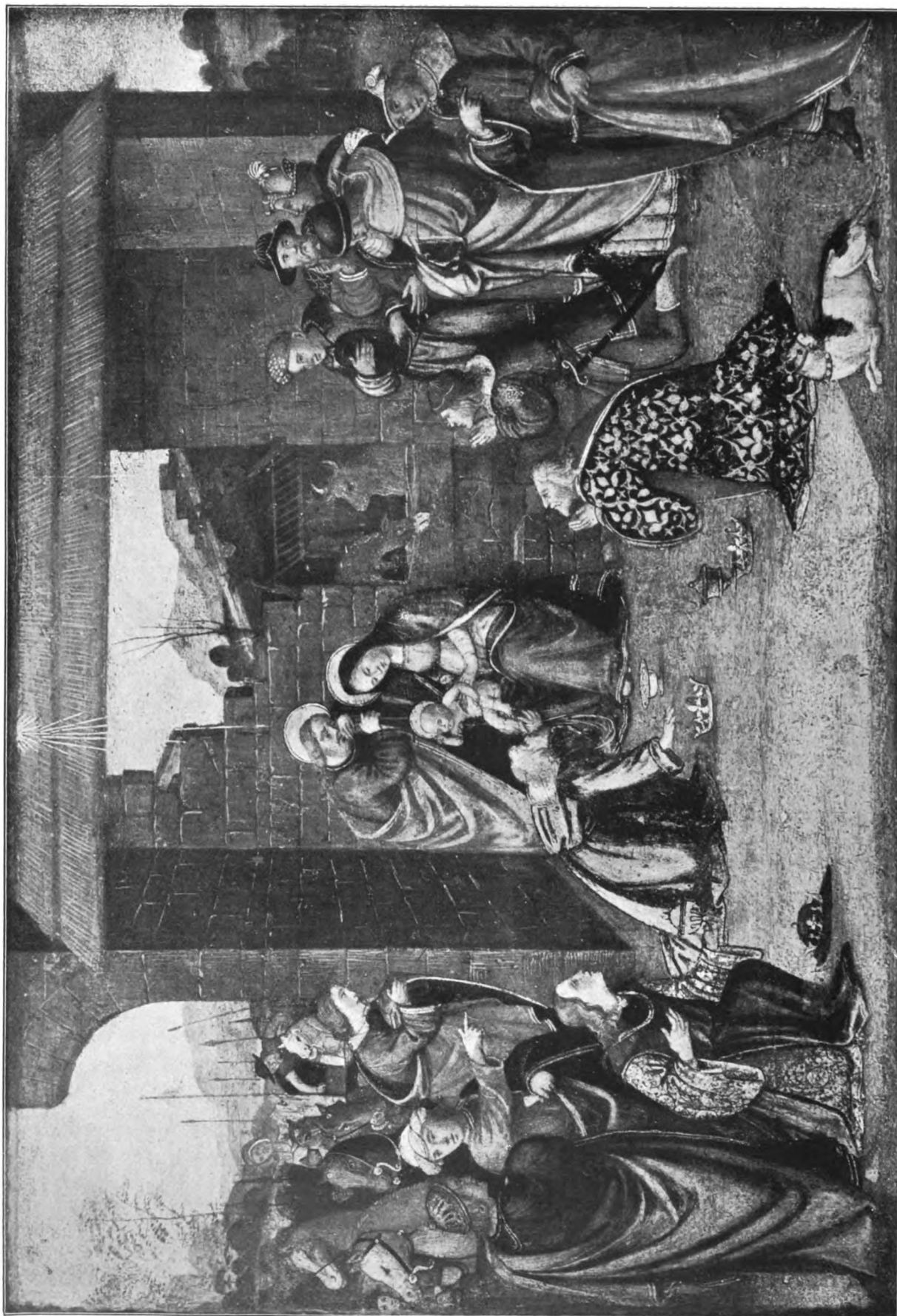
² Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. I., p. 341.

Baptist'"; and that the bronze statue of the "David," by Andrea Verrocchio, now in the Museum of the Bargello, No. 22, was originally "placed at the head of the stair, where stood the 'Catena.'"¹ This statue was finished in 1476; and the record of its completion may afford us an indication of the date of Botticelli's painting of the "Adoration of the Magi," which would seem, from its position, to have been a fresco on the wall above this staircase, and to have formed part of a scheme for its decoration taken in hand about this time. ¶ Vasari concludes his account of the works carried out by Michelozzo in the Palazzo Vecchio, by relating that, when the Duke Cosimo I. took up his residence in the palace in 1538, he sent for Vasari from Rome, in order that he might prepare designs for the various alterations and additions to the building, which were afterwards carried out. Among these, Vasari gave a plan for the entire reconstruction of Michelozzo's staircase. In lieu of the lower portion leading to the first floor, Vasari constructed a new flight of steps opposite to those which Il Cronaca had built, as an approach to the Sala de' Cinquecento; and the upper part of the old staircase, leading from the first floor to the Sala de' Gigli, he entirely reconstructed in the form in which it now exists. These works, which involved the removal of the "Catena" and the destruction of the paintings by Sandro Botticelli and Antonio Pollaiuoli, were carried out in the interval which elapsed between the publication of the first and second edition of Vasari's "Lives," for in the first edition, which was printed in 1550, he says that the "David" of Verrocchio "fu posta & è ancora oggi nel palazzo Ducale [as the Palazzo Vecchio was then called] al sommo della scala doue sta la catena"²; but in the second edition, printed in 1568, he alters the passage thus: "fu posto in palazzo al sommo della scala doue staua la catena."³ ¶ Some partial copies of this lost "Adoration of the

¹ Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. I., pp. 468 and 481.

² *Ib.*, ed. 1550, Vol. I., p. 462.

³ *Ib.*, ed. 1568, Vol. I., p. 481.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. A FREE COPY OF A LOST ORIGINAL BY SANDRO BOTTICELLI. FROM THE PAINTING IN THE UFFIZI, FLORENCE

Photograph by Houghton



COLLECTION OF MR. W. S. BROUGH



COLLECTION OF MR. JAMES KNOWLES

FRAGMENTS OF A COPY OF A LOST "ADORATION OF THE MAGI," BY SANDRO BOTTICELLI

Magi" by Botticelli may, perhaps, still be extant. In the Gallery of the Uffizi are two little panels, which originally formed parts of the same *predella*: the one, No. 57, contains two stories of the "Preaching and Death of St. Peter Martyr"; the other, No. 58, represents an "Adoration of the Magi." [Plate I.] This "Adoration" has clearly been taken from some lost painting by Botticelli, recalling in its manner and composition, the "Adoration" in the Uffizi, No. 1286, which came from the church of Santa Maria Novella. The other panel of the "Preaching and Death of St. Peter Martyr," although by the same hand, does not suggest any such original. Both panels, in short, are by one of the many feeble and colourless, eclectic painters who were working in Florence at the beginning of the 16th century; by some painter who, although not of the school of Botticelli, happens, in the case of the "Adoration," to borrow the composition from him. This conjecture is borne out by a drawing once in the collection of William Young Ottley, who has given a facsimile of it in his work called "The Italian School of Design," published at London in 1823.¹ In the text which accompanies this plate, the drawing is described as a study "in chiaroscuro in distemper," by Fra Filippo Lippi, for part of a picture of the "Adoration of the Magi." This drawing is now in the collection of Mr. James Knowles, of Queen Anne's Lodge, who bought it at the sale of the drawings and engravings of Mr. William Russell, of Onslow Gardens, which were dispersed at Christie's, on 10th to 12th December, 1884. It was one of three such drawings, or rather, as I shall show, fragments of an old copy of some lost "Adoration" by Botticelli, which were thus described in the sale catalogue:

FILIPPO LIPPI.

Lot 393. The Virgin and Child, and other figures: study for an "Adoration of the Magi"—*washed and touched up with oils on prepared canvas.*

(Bought by Mr. W. S. Brough for £1 10s.)

L.s., plate facing p. 14, engraved by F. C. Lewis.

Lot 394. Study of draped figures for the same picture.

(Bought by Mr. James Knowles for £3.)

Lot 395. Another part of the same composition.

(Bought by Mr. George Salting for 15s.)

A Lost
"Adoration of
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¶ All three fragments are drawn with a brush, in tempera on canvas, in a monochrome of umber. The fragment in the possession of Mr. Knowles, by whose kindness I am enabled to reproduce it here, represents a group of some six whole-length figures of men, with the indications of a seventh kneeling figure in the lower left-hand corner. [Plate II.] This fragment measures $17\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height by $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width. Besides the mark of William Russell, it bears that of Sir Thomas Lawrence in blind, which was put upon the Lawrence Drawings by Samuel Woodburn, after they had passed into his possession. Sir Thomas Lawrence, no doubt, bought the drawing from Ottley in the interval between the publication of "The Italian School of Design" in 1823, and the death of the former in 1830. I have not succeeded in tracing this drawing in the catalogue of the Lawrence Drawings, sold after Woodburn's death at Christie's, on 4th to 8th June, 1860. ¶ On comparing Mr. Knowles's fragment with the little panel of the "Adoration" in the Uffizi, [Plate I.,] it is seen that the principal figure in the drawing is identical with the foremost figure of the group to the right in the panel; a man in a red cap and robe, who leans with his right arm on the shoulder of the figure behind him: and that the kneeling figure, which is partially indicated in the drawing, is found entire in the panel, in the figure of a youth in a green tunic and red hose. In the drawing, the second figure, on whose shoulder the foremost figure is leaning, covers his face with his right hand in the excess of his emotion; a gesture which is entirely in the vein of Botticelli: but in the panel, the figure does not retain this characteristic trait. Again, the third and fourth figures in the drawing are omitted in the panel; but in the latter

version the copyist has preserved, in the third figure of his group, the gesture and attitude of the fifth figure in the drawing, the man in a biretta, who raises his right hand as he turns to converse with the figures on his left. Beyond this last figure in the drawing, is the head, partially seen, of a sixth figure, and the left shoulder of a seventh, which has been cut away. This last figure, however, would seem to have been preserved in the panel, in the figure of the man who holds his biretta against his breast with the right hand. ¶ Not only the character of the heads, but also the forms of the draperies, in the drawing are peculiarly Botticellesque. The design of the drapery of the foremost figure, especially the long, fluted folds running down to the right foot, occurring as they do in a figure whose conception and gesture are in a high degree characteristic of the painter, leaves little doubt that we have here a copy of some lost original by the master. ¶ The fragment bought by Mr. W. S. Brough, of Leek, near Stafford, is still in his possession: and I have to thank him for his courtesy in placing it at my disposal, and in allowing me to reproduce it as an illustration to this article [Plate II.]. It measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width; and like the fragment belonging to Mr. Knowles bears the marks of Sir Thomas Lawrence and William Russell. In this fragment we have the central group of Botticelli's composition; it agrees with the little panel in the Uffizi, No. 58, far more closely than does Mr. Knowles's fragment. But whereas this central group in the little panel recalls Botticelli only in its general design and motive, in the drawing, on the contrary, both the action of the figures, and all the forms (especially the folds of the Virgin's dress), are highly characteristic of Sandro's manner. It is only in structure and in quality of line that the copyist has failed to render his original. So far as we can judge from these copies, Botticelli's original could scarcely have been executed previously to his journey to Rome in 1481-2. We have

here a work of his maturity, when the peculiar traits of his manner were fully developed. The long, fluted folds, and indeed the whole design, of the Virgin's dress, recall the draperies in the altarpiece which was painted in 1484-5, for the church of Santo Spirito, and which is now in the Gallery at Berlin. ¶ The third fragment purchased by Mr. Salting at the Russell sale passed by exchange, some few years ago, into the possession of Mr. Fairfax Murray. I understand that the editor of this Magazine has been unable to obtain Mr. Murray's permission to reproduce it. It was, however, seen in the possession of Mr. Salting by the late Dr. Ulmann, to whom it recalled the group on the left with the rearing horse, behind the figure which he mistook to represent Savonarola, in the unfinished "Adoration" in the Uffizi, No. 3436.¹ It doubtless reproduces the design of the group of horsemen in the middle distance, on the left of the lost "Adoration," a passage of which, apparently, little more than the motive is to be found in the panel in the Uffizi, No. 58. Having been designed for the middle distance of the picture, the figures in this fragment are on a smaller scale than those in the fragment belonging to Mr. Knowles. ¶ Let us turn again to the little panel in the Uffizi, No. 58, [Plate I.,] for we are now enabled to form a better notion of its real nature. We see that its copyist has followed his original rather in the general design of the picture, the composition of certain groups, and the attitudes of the majority of the figures, than in the character of the heads and hands, or the forms of the draperies. The figure with the scrolled, Pollaiuolesque head-dress on the extreme right of the panel, is entirely in the vein of Botticelli; but it probably formed, in the original, one of a group of figures which brought it into relation with the figures beyond it on the left. In Mr. Knowles's fragment there is no indication that this figure cuts the cloaked figure who

¹ H. Ulmann "Sandro Botticelli," München, 1893, p. 147.



Photograph by Alinari

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, FROM THE UNFINISHED PAINTING BY SANDRO BOTTICELLI IN THE UFFIZI, FLORENCE

leans upon the shoulder of the man beside him, as it does in the panel. Again, the kneeling Magus on the right of the panel repeats the kneeling figure of the man in hose and tunic, with a want of variety that can have formed no part of Botticelli's design; and the background of the panel appears to reproduce Botticelli's original in a very partial manner. ¶ We have seen that the passage in this little panel which preserves most nearly the character of its original, is the central group of the Virgin, the Child, and St. Joseph, with the crouching figure of the Magus, who is kissing the foot of the Christ. The composition of this group of figures is found repeated in the unfinished painting of the "Adoration of the Magi," in the Uffizi, No. 3436, [Plate III.,] to which I alluded at the beginning of this paper. But when we compare the group in the unfinished panel with Mr. Brough's drawing, we find that both the action of the figures, and the design of the draperies are very different. In spite of the damaged condition of this passage in the panel, we see that it belongs to an earlier period of the painter's career than the group in the drawing; for in the latter the forms are more mannered, and the figures already have much of that eagerness of action and gesture which is characteristic of Botticelli's maturest work. ¶ This unfinished panel had long been stored away in the Magazines of the Uffizi when, in 1880, the Commission appointed to examine the vast stores of the gallery selected it among the number of pictures to be added to the collection. Nothing is known of its history beyond the date, recorded on a label affixed to the back, at which it came to the Uffizi: "20 Aprile 1779, di Sandro Botticelli." It is painted on an oblong panel, measuring 5 feet 7 inches in length, and 3 feet 5½ inches in height; and it appears to have been lightly sketched by Botticelli in tempera, in monochrome, and afterwards to have been abandoned. At a later time, in the earlier part of the 17th century, it was in great part gone over in oil colours by some indifferent hand. No por-

tion of the original painting is now perfectly preserved; but Botticelli's hand may still be detected in the groups of horsemen in the middle distance, and in some figures in the lateral groups in the foreground. Excepting in a few passages, such as the head of the Virgin and the distant breaks of landscape, the character of which has been entirely changed by the 17th century painter who attempted to colour the picture, Botticelli's manner is everywhere to be recognized, in spite of the repainting, especially in the composition and attitudes of the figures, and in the forms of the heads and draperies. The conception and general design of the picture, as a whole (just that aspect of it which suffered least at the hands of the painter who sought to finish it), forms, perhaps, its most remarkable trait. Of all the elaborate compositions of this painter who was so lavish of figures in his stories, this astonishing composition is the most elaborate. Although the mass and perspective of many parts of the picture have been destroyed, or thrown out of focus, by the clumsy retouches which disfigure it, it remains an extraordinary instance of Botticelli's power of introducing a vast number of figures into a story, without confusing its issue, or detracting from its effect. The pious expectancy of the Virgin and St. Joseph, the profound devotion of the Magi, the zeal of some of their courtiers, and the wonder of others, the interminable crowds of their followers who stream over the distant landscape in eager haste, the fighting soldiers, the restive horses; all are woven by the painter into a single and entire conception, as if he sought to cast into visible shape the images of Isaiah: "Tunc videbis, et afflues, et mirabitur et dilatabitur cor tuum, quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo gentium venerit tibi." ¶ When the picture was first discovered among the stores of the Uffizi, Mr. C. Heath Wilson, in a notice which appeared in *The Academy* for November 20, 1880,¹ declared that the picture contained the portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici

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¹ *L.S.*, p. 372.

The Burlington Magazine and Savonarola. This absurd supposition, which has been gravely accepted by Dr. Ulmann and Signor Venturi, has caused the painting to be generally regarded as one of the last works of Botticelli. Perhaps, the only certain thing that can be said of the picture in its present state, is that it contains certain Pollaiuolo-like motives and forms, rarely to be found, if at all, in any of the pictures which Botticelli is known to have executed after his return from Rome in 1482. The gesture of the man, on horseback, with his right arm raised above his head, to the extreme left of the picture; the attitude of the groom who is holding a restive horse in the opposite corner of the picture, an attitude which recalls that of the Mercury in the picture of the "Spring"; the forms of the horses in the same group; such things may be cited as peculiarly characteristic of Botticelli's early manner, while he was still under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Nor are the crouching and tilted figures, by which Botticelli in this "Adoration" seeks to express rapid movement, necessarily a characteristic of his later manner, for they occur already in the cuts executed from Botticelli's drawings in Cristoforo Landino's edition of the "Divina Commedia," published at Florence in 1481. Indeed, these cuts present several points of analogy with this painting, which, in my opinion, was one of the last works executed by Botticelli before his journey to Rome, in the earlier part of the year 1481. ¶ What conclusions, then, are to be drawn from the analogy of these various paintings and drawings? The little panel, No. 58, in the Uffizi, and the three fragments formerly in the Wm. Russell Collection, were clearly imitated, or copied, from some lost "Adoration of the Magi" by Botticelli, which must have been exceedingly well known in Florence at the beginning of the 15th century, since two copies of that date are extant. Indeed, one is led, from other instances, to surmise that when several copies of a painting by copyists not of the school of the master have come down to us, the original was probably in some public building

easy or access: a conclusion which gives colour to my conjecture that this lost "Adoration" may have been the fresco once in the Palazzo Vecchio. In its design, this "Adoration" possessed, as I have shown, certain points of resemblance to the unfinished "Adoration" in the Uffizi, No. 3436. But the two compositions must not be confused, for whereas the unfinished painting has all the richness and multiplicity of parts which Botticelli loved to introduce into his smaller panels, the copies of what I take to have been the fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio, possess that simplicity and largeness of design which is necessary to the effectiveness of a wall-painting. There is another trait, slight and problematical though it be, which may, perhaps, mark another point of similarity between the two compositions, although the motive has not been preserved in the little panel in the Uffizi. Vasari, in his description of the "Adoration of the Magi" formerly in the church of Santa Maria Novella, says that the painter "distinguished the retinues of the three kings in such a way, that one is able to recognize which are the servants of the one and which of the other";¹ a remark which is without meaning applied to that picture. In the unfinished painting in the Uffizi, however, the companies of the three kings have followed the star by three several roads, which wind over the distant landscape from different quarters of the heavens, so that here, as in many other passages of Vasari's "Lives," the mistake, it would seem, is to be traced to some confusion or misconception of fact. ¶ I have pursued such conjectures further, perhaps, than their grounds warrant me; but they will have served their turn, if they lead other students of Botticelli to look into this question of the fresco once in the Palazzo Vecchio. Even those who may be inclined to discredit my conjecture as to the identity of that composition, will hardly deny, I think, that in the copies here reproduced, is preserved, at least in part, the composition of a lost "Adoration" by Botticelli.

¹ Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. I., p. 472.

ON ORIENTAL CARPETS

ARTICLE I.—INTRODUCTION

THERE are, I must suppose, but few hobbies that claim so absorbing a devotion as does the pursuit of the oriental carpet. Every hobby, no doubt, demands a good deal from its victims, but the exactions of most of them are tempered with mercy: thus the collector of old furniture does not necessarily cut himself adrift from pictures, nor the lover of old arms from bric-à-brac; but the oriental carpet is inexorable and remorseless, and the true carpet lover gives himself to carpets and to carpets only. They are his pictures, his furniture, his bric-à-brac, his all. True the field of the oriental carpet seeker is an immensely wide one. His horizon extends from Morocco to China, and the period during which the objects of his affections have existed, and existed as they do to-day, dates back to the days of the Pharaohs; in the palaces of ancient Egypt they were employed as decorations, and the priests at Heliopolis used them at religious ceremonies. Nor have many oriental carpets materially altered during the ages. The same productions, alike in texture, material, colouring, and design, are being made in Kermanshah in Kurdistan to-day (they are called Killim), as were described by Callixenus the Rhodian (*circa* 280 B.C.) as being used at a banquet given by Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria. The passage is worth quoting: "There were also golden couches with the feet of sphinxes on the two sides of the tent . . . and under these were strewn purple carpets of the finest wool with the pattern on both sides. Besides these, thin Persian cloths covered all the centre space where the guests walked, having most accurate representations of animals embroidered on them." These cloths, known as Shamyanas, are still made in Persia. ¶ It may be said, in passing, in reference to the

Kurdistan carpets, that the finest rugs produced in our own time are made in the palace of the Governor of Kermanshah. They are, however, not on the market, but are only disposed of as presents. Hippocras (about 500 B.C.) speaks of the carpets of Miletus as being famous. These, however, were most probably Circassian rugs, which gained their name by being brought from the port of Miletus for sale. ¶ In the Imperial Treasury at Constantinople are carpets of inestimable value; some of them are over sixteen hundred years old. Many of these are of silk, others being of a very fine and costly wool called *Kurk*. The Sultan, indeed, is the possessor of what is believed to be the most valuable collection of oriental carpets in the world, and, unlike former Turkish rulers, who kept these treasures jealously guarded and hidden from the world, His Majesty has devoted much time, thought, and capital to reviving and perpetuating these glorious records of Eastern artistic supremacy. He has established at Héréké, in the Gulf of Ismidt (some fifty miles from Constantinople), a factory and school of art where some four hundred skilled artisans are constantly employed. They are nearly all young Greek women from the islands of the Marmora, and the work which occupies them is the faithful reproduction, in materials of as nearly as possible the same quality, texture, and colouring, of the stored treasures of Eski Serai. When, in 1898, the German Emperor paid his celebrated visit to Constantinople and the Holy Land, the whole of the carpets, wall hangings, and divan coverings of the palace, which the Sultan had specially built in the grounds of Yildiz for the reception of his Imperial guests, were the products of the Héréké looms. The German Emperor made a trip to Héréké to inspect the Sultan's factory, and accepted as a gift from his host (it was one only among

many valuable presents) a silk carpet, sixty-five mètres long by forty wide, the reproduction of a carpet nine hundred years old which is in the Eski Serai Treasury. The bare cost of labour and materials used in this magnificent reproduction was £2,600. I shall have more to say hereafter of the Héréké factory, which I have several times visited, once notably on the occasion of the German Emperor's inspection of it. ¶ As may be inferred from what has been said, the carpet collector need be under no apprehension that his power of expenditure will be limited by aught save the length of his purse and the strength of his inclinations. Rugs and carpets (and good ones) range in price, if the would-be purchaser knows where to seek them, at any figure from £2 to £2,000 or even £5,000. Though the marvels of the Constantinople Treasury are unpurchasable, there are many oriental princes and nobles with pedigrees and possessions easily dating back a thousand and odd years, who, like numbers of mere mushroom western nobility, find themselves constrained by stress of circumstances to part with heirlooms (in the shape of carpets) long treasured in their palaces. These gentry do not descend into the market-place in ordinary course (though I well recall much hawking of harem treasures in the bazaars of Stamboul during the terrible winter of the Russo-Turkish war), but the useful, necessary, and intelligent *Tellal*, or carpet broker, always knows where to find his vender, as to whose identity the would-be purchaser may remain in perfect ignorance. There is, moreover, this affinity between carpet buying in the Orient and horse dealing all the world over, namely, that there is no offence implied or understood should a would-be purchaser make an offer to anyone for any rug he may wish to acquire. Thus, if an ardent collector should know where to put his hand on that Susanjird (Persian) carpet that at a sale of the effects of one of the Fatimite Khaliphs in 1067 fetched 1,000 gold deenars (the deenar

weighing then more than half a sovereign), or that other rug of silk wrought with gold for which a Mameluke prince of the fourteenth century gave 70,000 pieces of silver, he would not need to fear that his offer, unless absurdly disproportionate, would be viewed as an insult by the happy possessor. He would, however, have to draw the line at any attempt to obtain such a sacred treasure as that carpet which a former Guikwar of Baroda (himself a Hindu) caused to be embroidered with pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, at a cost of a million sterling, and sent as a covering for the Tomb of the Prophet at Medina, or any of the magnificent Holy Carpets (which, indeed, are hardly to be called carpets in the ordinary sense) that are yearly sent by the Sultan and by the Khedive to Mecca for the adornment of the Caaba. What becomes of these marvels of embroidery and design when they have served their term of honourable office is not known to the outside world; but Mecca, where every resident is wealthy, should undoubtedly be, if only access to it were possible, the richest carpet mart in the world. Of course Mecca is not accessible, but I have found that for Sejadahs, or prayer rugs, of almost every variety and provenance, Jeddah, the port of Mecca, and Yambo, the port of Medina, are wonderfully rich markets. Every Muslim strives to make at least once in his life a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, or to Kerbela, Nejef, Mashed, or Kairwan, and he ordinarily takes with him two or more really good rugs, for use by the way, as presents to his different shrines (where they become the perquisites of the officials), and if need be to provide the means for the return journey. And as at, and on their way to, all these shrines the pilgrims are unmercifully fleeced by the native residents, and in nine cases out of ten have to part with most of their belongings in order to support existence, these Sejadahs, which may be of any origin, but ordinarily are the best products of the countries whence their donors come, then drift down in natural course to

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the ports of the various shrines, and of these Jeddah and Yambo are the most important. ¶ Of course in this country, indeed throughout Europe, the lovers and collectors of oriental carpets are a very limited body. There are many reasons for this, though one would suffice, namely, that a knowledge and appreciation of oriental carpets naturally presupposes a lengthy residence in the countries where they pervade the whole of domestic life and are constantly in evidence. To the vast majority of English people the first and last words in Eastern rugs are expressed by the mis-called Turkey carpets that have adorned British dining-rooms since the early days of the old Levant Company. These coarse and primitive productions must, I suppose, be called oriental, inasmuch as they are, and for many years have been, made at Ouchak, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. They are, however, made by Greek labour and belong, though always in the bastard sense, far more to the Greek islands of the Ægean than to Turkey proper. ¶ The fundamental difference between Eastern and Western decorative art is perhaps nowhere more clearly revealed than in oriental carpets. It is seen not merely in the richer and more luminous colouring of the East, due to the deep dyeing stuffs of India and the Indian Archipelago, but also notably in the substitution of the angular line in the drawing for the flowing "Classical line of Beauty." This, by the way, disappears in the best and purest forms of Sassanian art. But, taken as a whole, it is this angular drawing, now closely identified with the decorative art of the East, that makes one of the chief sources of pleasure in oriental carpets. Another factor that makes undoubtedly for the pleasure of the eye is the irregularity of pattern which, though the true principles of conventional design are strictly adhered to, is brought about by the fact of the work being hand-woven. The rigid conformity to pattern inseparable from machine-woven designs is thus wholly lacking, and the hand-woven carpet takes into itself the impress of

the individuality of the village-artist who produces it, and becomes at once a picture and a human document. ¶ Again, the wools, silks, and, in modern work, the mohairs used in the oriental carpets are far more artistically dyed, and the colours are infinitely more harmoniously grouped than in any western manufacture. The colours used, by the way, are known as "the perfect seven," namely: indigo, porcelain blue, green, yellow, orange, rose, and red. And each of these colours has a special significance, of which more hereafter. The dyes are of course all vegetable, and I may say that a few years ago the late Shah of Persia, learning that the use of cheap aniline dyes was becoming prevalent in the production of the commoner sort of carpets, issued a decree prohibiting their importation into the country and making it a criminal offence to use them. The Shah, indeed, went so far as to insist on the employment of kermés in preference to cochineal, which is of course very much cheaper, and had therefore come increasingly into use. Kermés is one of the most valuable and important dyes ever known. It was in use in Syria in the time of Moses, and has been used in India from time immemorial for silk dyeing. After the conquest of Mexico by Cortes it was displaced from its high position by cochineal. The Greek and Roman dyers used kermés, and Pliny mentions it; Spain paid part of its tribute to Rome with the grains, and Plutarch mentions red and purple materials dyed with it which after a hundred and ninety years had lost none of their brilliancy. There can be little wonder that oriental carpets should have preserved through centuries their delicate brilliancy of colouring when such materials as this have been used in their creation, and when the weaver-artist gave himself the same loving care to the dyeing of his wools as did the painter of old to the preparation of his oils and pigments. It is indeed this softened brilliancy, this delicate blending of harmonious colours, each with its own

special significance, that makes oriental carpets to be as pictures pervaded by a deep and complicated symbolism. ¶ No matter where they may hail from, the method of producing all oriental carpets is practically the same. The loom is invariably a very primitive affair, and consists of two perpendicular pieces of wood fixed at some distance apart, which support a beam or roller, at the top of which the warp or chain is wound, and about two feet from the floor is another similar beam upon which the carpet is rolled as it is worked. Each tie passes across the face of two warp threads round the back, and has the ends drawn up between them. When a row of ties has been completed, a shed is formed in the warp, and the shoot is then passed across from left to right and returned, binding the whole together, and is beaten down to the horizontal level by the hand-beaters. On a loom of this simple structure carpets of the largest size can be made in one piece. Many carpets have at least ten thousand ties to the square foot, and I have myself watched, day after day in Erzeroum in Turkish Kurdistan, a Persian artist engaged in weaving—without a pattern save such as he carried in his head—a silk carpet, in which he told me there were sixteen thousand ties to the square foot. This carpet was intended as a present to the then-Grand Vizier from the Erzeroum Director of Customs. My friend the Persian had been engaged on it for fifteen months at a wage of four shillings a day, and when I left him he expected that it would take him another year to complete his task. But, alas for the degeneracy of the age. He was employing by direct order silks coloured with aniline, because, forsooth, he thus had a greater variety of colours at his command. ¶ In taking a wide survey of oriental carpets through all the countries of their origin—from Morocco to China—one learns to divide them into two classes, the Geometric and the Floral. Both classes are often present in the same carpet, owing to causes

which I will explain ; but broadly speaking they seem to classify the whole manufacture of oriental carpets under two distinct ethnographical and geographical as well as technical and decorative heads. In India, and also in parts of Turkey, the village system tends to localize a manufacture when once established in any part of the country, and the caste system perpetuates its technology and art. These manufactures in both countries have generally become permanent where first introduced. But in Persia not only the nomads, who all weave carpets, but the settled handicraftsmen of the towns travel all over the country in search of work, with the result that the same carpet design may be used at one time in Kurdistan or Khorassan, and at another in Karman or Sarakhs. As a rule the pile carpets of India, Persia, Egypt, and Baluchistan are Floral (the Arabs, by the way, never regard Egypt as being in Africa), while those of Central Asia and Western Afghanistan are Geometric. Florals struggle with some success to enter into the freer Geometric designs, but the reverse is infrequent. Rectilinear designs are prevalent throughout Asia north of the central Circassian range, and, passing over Asia Minor, Persia, and India, reappear in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. ¶ The great outward trade which existed between Eastern and Western Asia for nigh a thousand years, from the rise of Buddhism as the temporal power in India down to the devastating conquests of the Seljuhian and Ottoman Turks, carried the arts of Persia into China and those of China into Persia. The art influence of China thus derived was felt in Afghanistan down to the time of Mahomet Ghazni. It is still felt in Cashmir, and is predominant in Chinese Turkistan. By the conquests also of the Mongols under Chengiz Khan and his grandson Hulaku and Timur, the forms of Chinese art were carried into every part of Western Asia and even half over Europe. It may be said, by the way, that these Chinese imitations of Persian, and vice versa,



EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE, H.M. PRINTERS, LITH.

WOOLLEN CARPET. INDIAN (ROYAL FACTORY OF LAHORE); 17TH CENTURY.
THE PROPERTY OF GEORGE SALTING, Esq.

existed in many branches of art. After the conquest of Baghdad in the middle of the thirteenth century and the abolition of the rule of the Khalifs by Hulaku, the Khalifat, till then the most refined home of all the arts, fell very strongly under the influence of the Tartars and Mongols, and this predominated thenceforth throughout all the disasters of Baghdad, until the end of the fourteenth century, when Tamerlane removed the artists and the scholars from the captured cities, and by deporting them to Samarcand spread Arab and Persian ideas and tastes throughout Tartary. ¶ This commingling and interchange of influences has made the classification of oriental carpets a matter of very great difficulty. Of course, the personal history of a given carpet, when it can be absolutely vouched for, obviates controversy as to that particular specimen, except perhaps as regards the correct method of classification, which must ever be a vexed question. For instance, given a carpet made in Central India by a Persian artist, on a design saliently Persian, but in which, owing to environment, the results

of certain marked local influences were perceptible; should that be classed as a Persian carpet or an Indian carpet (for the materials employed might be exclusively Indian)? However, as regards that particular specimen, its history would suffice. But say the artist returned to his native country, where he and his descendants produced duplicates of the carpet he made in India, and say that by reason of trade developments the materials formerly exclusively Indian had now reached Persian markets, in such a case, and such cases are normal, accurate classification becomes almost an impossibility after the lapse of say some hundreds of years, during which time a specimen may have travelled the globe over. ¶ Design, speaking generally, teaches nothing definite either as to the age of a specimen or its provenance. But the symbolic significance of colours, and the materials employed on the loom, may go far towards determining the age of a specimen, if it be really old, and the country of its immediate origin. It is proposed to deal with these subjects in a future article.

On Oriental
Carpets

TYPES OF OLD PARIS HOUSES

✿ WRITTEN BY ROSE KINGSLEY & CAMILLE GRONKOWSKI ✿

ARTICLE I.—HOTEL DE LAUZUN, LOUIS XIV. PERIOD

TO evoke the past, to conjure up a vision of the famous men and women of long ago in the course of their everyday life, in the familiar setting of the homes they created, is one of the most fascinating studies in which historian or artist can indulge. But it is a tantalizing and baffling occupation as well; for too often the necessary documents are wanting. If a portrait by Largillière or Rigaud shows what manner of persons frequented the Court of the Grand Monarque, and one learns thereby the cut of the clothes, the fashion of the wig, the tasselled cane, the buckled shoe, the lace cravat, how seldom is it possible to place these beings in the actual palace, hôtel, or château they inhabited; in rooms rich with decoration untouched by the ravages of time, the vandalism of revolution or war, or the yet more destructive hand of the restorer. ¶ Happy are those to whom, like ourselves, such a realization of the artist's dream of the past has been vouchsafed. And we would fain try to convey to our readers some small share of this delight by recalling the existence of one of those attractive figures of the past in the splendid galleries of his hôtel beside the river. The vanished figure is no less a person than the Duc de Lauzun, famous for his adventures, his irresistible charm, and his celebrated love story. His dwelling-place, intact, and still magnificent, thanks to its scrupulous preservation, is the noble hôtel of the Quai d'Anjou bearing his name, recently acquired by the Ville de Paris from the heirs of the late Baron Pichon, and as yet opened only to a very few privileged individuals. And this hôtel is not only remarkable from its immense artistic value, from its paintings, its wood-work, its mouldings and bronzes,

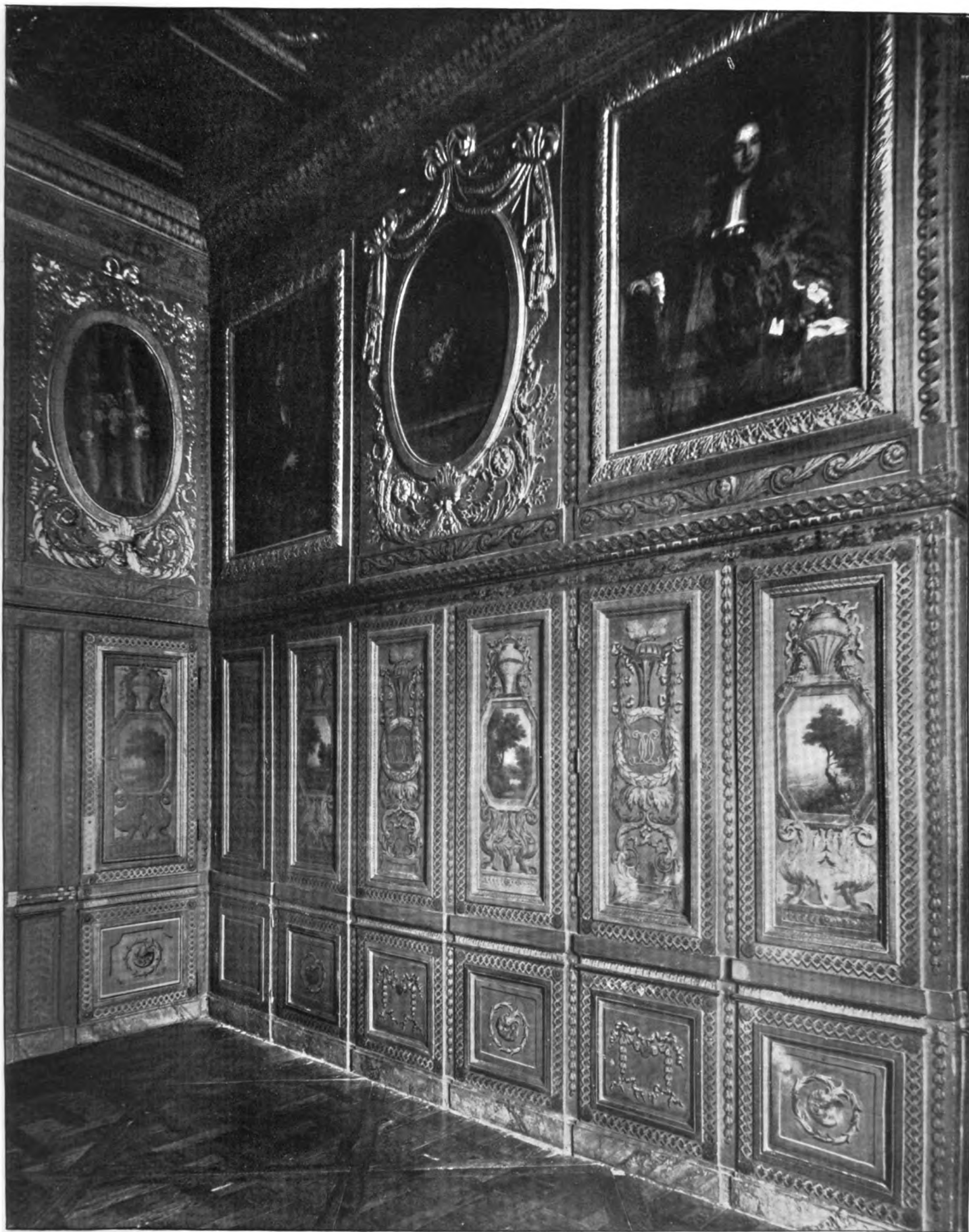
which form a complete *résumé* of decorative art in the seventeenth century—its history from the very day of its building is full of singular and romantic interest. ¶ The River Seine is always the most agreeable highway to use in Paris, for the panorama of noble buildings along the quays can thus be watched with quiet enjoyment, absolutely impossible in the noisy and perilous streets. And on a hot April day, as we land from our *bateau mouche* at the extreme end of the Île St. Louis, we find ourselves at once in a new world. Though tram-lines run across the bridges between the Jardin des Plantes and the Boulevard Henri IV. and automobiles fly past us, leaving an evil stench as incense at the foot of the great Barye's statue, modern Paris fades as some restless dream when we turn out of the hot sun round the corner of the Quai d'Anjou. The lilacs of the Hôtel Lambert all in bloom over the railing atop of the garden wall, the grey stone of the splendid old Louis XIV. house, and the golden green of budding poplars along the quay, form a deliciously cool contrast to the huge masses of yellow sand and gravel heaped on the sunny river bank opposite, where a white horse stands up to his back in the water, and many black poodles are being bathed and combed with lively yappings. The stillness of this almost deserted quay, looking north, is in harmony with the great solemn houses along it, with their wrought-iron balconies, shuttered windows, deep *portes cochères*, and carven doorways. Barges and boats lie quietly in the basin formed by the northern branch of the river, for there is no through traffic between the Pont Sully and the Pont Marie. ¶ All this tranquil savour of a bygone age forms a fitting approach to the Hôtel de Lauzun, a hundred yards along the shady quay. As with all hôtels of the late Louis XIII. and early





1. BOUDOIR OF THE REZ DE CHAUSSEE

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HÔTEL LAUZUN

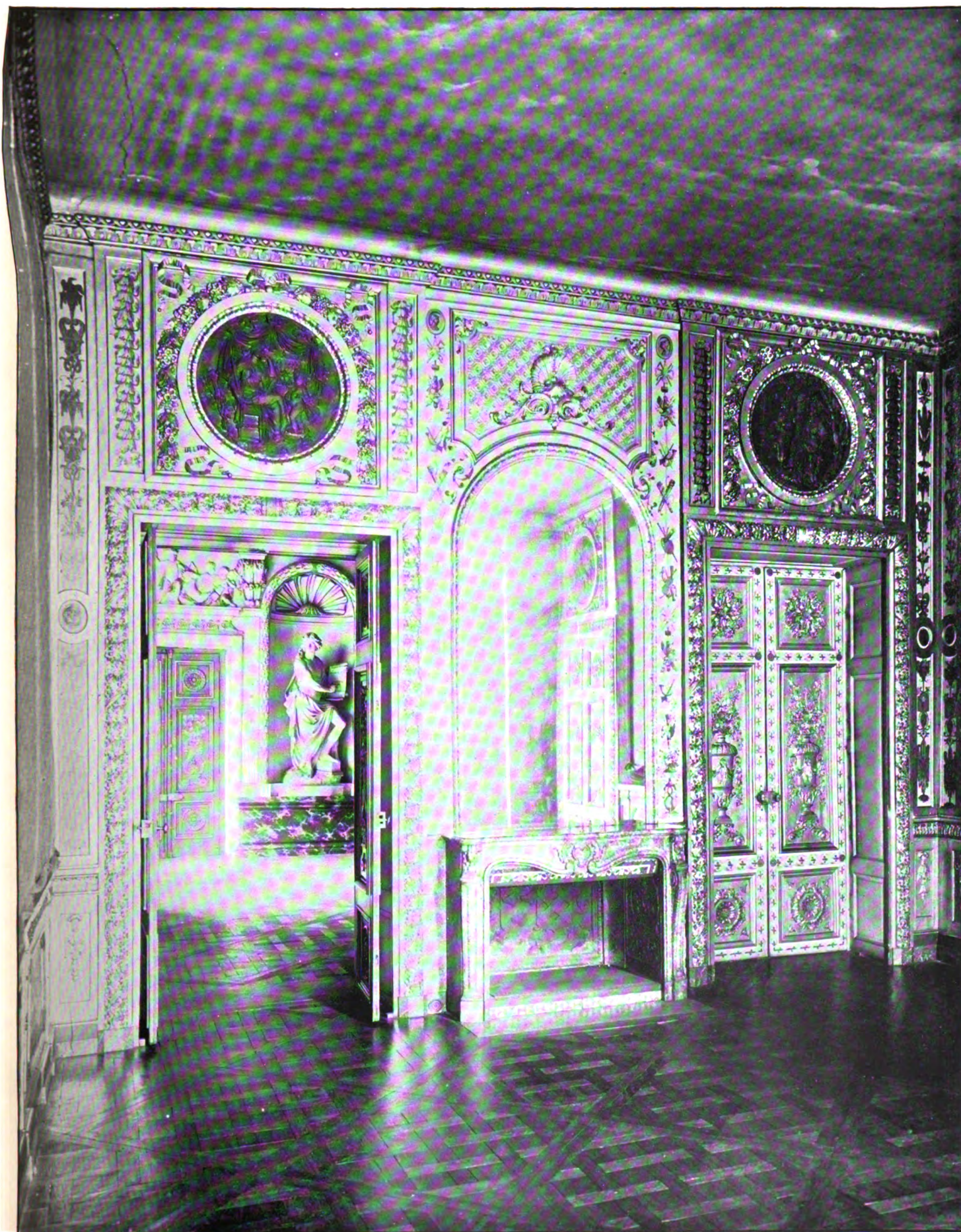
Louis XIV. periods, the exterior hardly prepares us for the magnificence of the interior. It is only two stories high, with its *porte cochère* at one side of the façade instead of in the centre, the only decoration being a superb balcony in wrought iron outside the middle windows, one of the finest examples of forged ironwork existing in Paris. The heavy door opens, and, passing the porter's lodge on the right under the massive gateway, we find ourselves in a spacious courtyard, the hôtel enclosing it on three sides, the fourth being occupied by the high wall of the next house. Here at once we find decoration, though of a stern and stately order, the archway of the *porte cochère* being supported by couching lions on carved brackets. The main entrance is in the centre of the west wing, and as we mount a few steps and pass into the silent empty house, we plunge in a moment into the very heart of the past. ¶The great gallery on the right of the entrance looks north across the river, and was used by its last proprietor, Baron Pichon, a well-known bibliophile and collector, as his library. This magnificent room has been more altered than any of the other apartments in the hôtel. The woodwork dates from the reign of Louis XV.—channelled pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and large panels carved with a graceful design of arabesques and vases below and rich garlands above, all in oak of the finest texture and deliciously mellow tone. The lofty mirrors at each end of the room are of the same date, set in charming gilt mouldings with arabesques of gold on brown at each side. The one above the low grey marble mantelpiece is further decorated with an oval painting introduced into the upper part of the frame, a little cupid kneeling on a pile of hearts and shooting straight down the room. The chimney-back is worthy of close attention, for it is ornamented with the arms of Ogier, *receveur du clergé*, who bought the hôtel in 1709, and the sides have good designs of dancing *polichinelles*. The doors are carved, and

the finely worked *chambranles* of the doors and windows are in gilt-bronze. But these eighteenth-century decorations, attractive as they are, belong to a much later epoch than that of which the Hôtel de Lauzun is so admirable a type; and in any other country but France, where the unity of art is so perfectly understood, they would look out of place under the ceiling of this fine gallery. It is all that remains untouched in this room of the original seventeenth-century building; and it is a most rare and valuable example of the raftered roofs which preceded the great decorated ceilings of the Louis XIV. period, with their mouldings, stucco, paintings, and gilding, which we find in the rest of the hôtel. This one is of extreme interest as one of the last examples of the kind constructed in Paris, with three huge beams, and rafters like those of an English farmhouse, but all painted and gilded. It seems probable that this ceiling extends through the small service-rooms at the back, facing the courtyard. If this is so, it would prove that the gallery originally occupied the whole breadth as well as length of this part of the *rez de chaussée*, with the exception of the little boudoir at its eastern extremity, which we now enter. ¶This boudoir is decorated in the most lavish manner of the early Louis XIV. style; and the whole effect is at once extremely rich and very gay. The panelled walls are painted throughout, the undertone being a soft brownish cream, and the patterns upon it are in soft greens, blues, and golden yellows, with here and there a touch of faded gold. The narrow panels are divided by lines of a drop pattern hanging from a wreath of flowers. In the centre of each alternate one, lovely little landscapes in the tender style of Claude are set in painted frames and upheld by arabesques and vases, from which fall wreaths of jessamine and blue ribbons; while in the alternate ones, among wreaths of bay and oak and smoking tripods, we find the initials of Gruyn, the builder of the hôtel, and of his wife, Mlle. de

Types of
Old Paris
Houses

Mouy. Above these panels are square portraits of the Ogier family, alternating with oval flower-pictures which might well be by Monnoyer, set in charming gilt stucco arabesques, and below the cornice runs a garland of roses and acanthus. The ceiling centre, framed in a deeply moulded and gilded oval wreath, with panels of olives and arabesques in gilt stucco round it, has for subject a mythological Springtime, which may safely be attributed to the school of Le Sueur, though that artist died in 1655, three years before the hôtel was completed. And the space at the end of the oblong ceiling is filled by a small panel of Loves, with masks on either side, and rich acanthus scrolls in green on gold round them. ¶ A little staircase from the small room at the back of the Gallery and the boudoir leads down to the *porte cochère* and the porter's lodge, and by looking through a window of the cellar, now used as a larder, we may see the massive stones which mark the entrance to the subterranean passage which played so curious a part during the revolution of 1793. ¶ We now return to the entrance, where the grand staircase represents the most important change in the original construction of the hôtel. On the *rez de chaussée* it occupies the site of the ancient dining-room, and on the first floor that of the old chapel. This alteration was made by Lauzun during his tenure of the house under Louis XIV. And here let us pause for a moment and learn something of the strange and romantic history of this hôtel which is as full of interest to the student of human nature as is the building to the student of art. ¶ The singular and audacious man who built it was no *grand-seigneur*—far from it. Charles Gruyn was simply the son of a tavern keeper. His father, a sort of Ragueneau, was host of the "Pomme de Pin"—known also as the "Cabaret d'Honneur"—at the end of the Pont Notre Dame. It was not only the acknowledged, but the right thing, for the young bloods of Paris in the seventeenth

century, as in more recent times, to amuse themselves, to feast and drink, in fashionable taverns, with some show of secrecy and at a certain distance from the best quarters. This *Montmartre avant la lettre* was situated on the threshold of the Île St. Louis, then almost uninhabited; and *père* Gruyn seems to have made a good thing out of his select and joyous clients. He gave his son a careful education; and the young man, ambitious, audacious, intelligent, and but lightly troubled with scruples, threw himself eagerly into financial operations, especially those connected with the Commissariat. In 1641, two years before the death of Louis XIII., he was Commissary-General of cavalry supplies, and as years went on his fortune increased in an almost scandalous manner. Hated by the people and the subject of more than one biting *Mazarinade*, Gruyn scorned to notice such critics. His object was to make a display which would rival the luxury and splendour of the well-born and prominent persons he had so successfully ruined. ¶ His opportunity came at the moment when fashionable Paris began to desert the old quarter of the "Marais," and it was considered quite the right thing to live in the Île St. Louis. Here Maître Charles happened to possess a plot of ground which he had bought in 1641 after his first successes in speculation; and he seized on the chance of establishing himself in such an enviable position and capturing public opinion by the might of his millions. Doubtless it was somewhat unfortunately close to the paternal tavern: but what did that signify? President Lambert de Thorigny and M. de Bretonvilliers had already built their stately hôtels at the extremity of the island, and time pressed; for the son of the tavern-keeper was determined to excel them in ostentation and splendour. ¶ In point of fact the hôtel was finished in 1658. But before he crossed its threshold, Gruyn exchanged his plebeian name for that of Des Bordes—a property he had recently bought near Loigny; and at the same time an



2. SALON, WITH DOOR OPEN INTO DINING ROOM

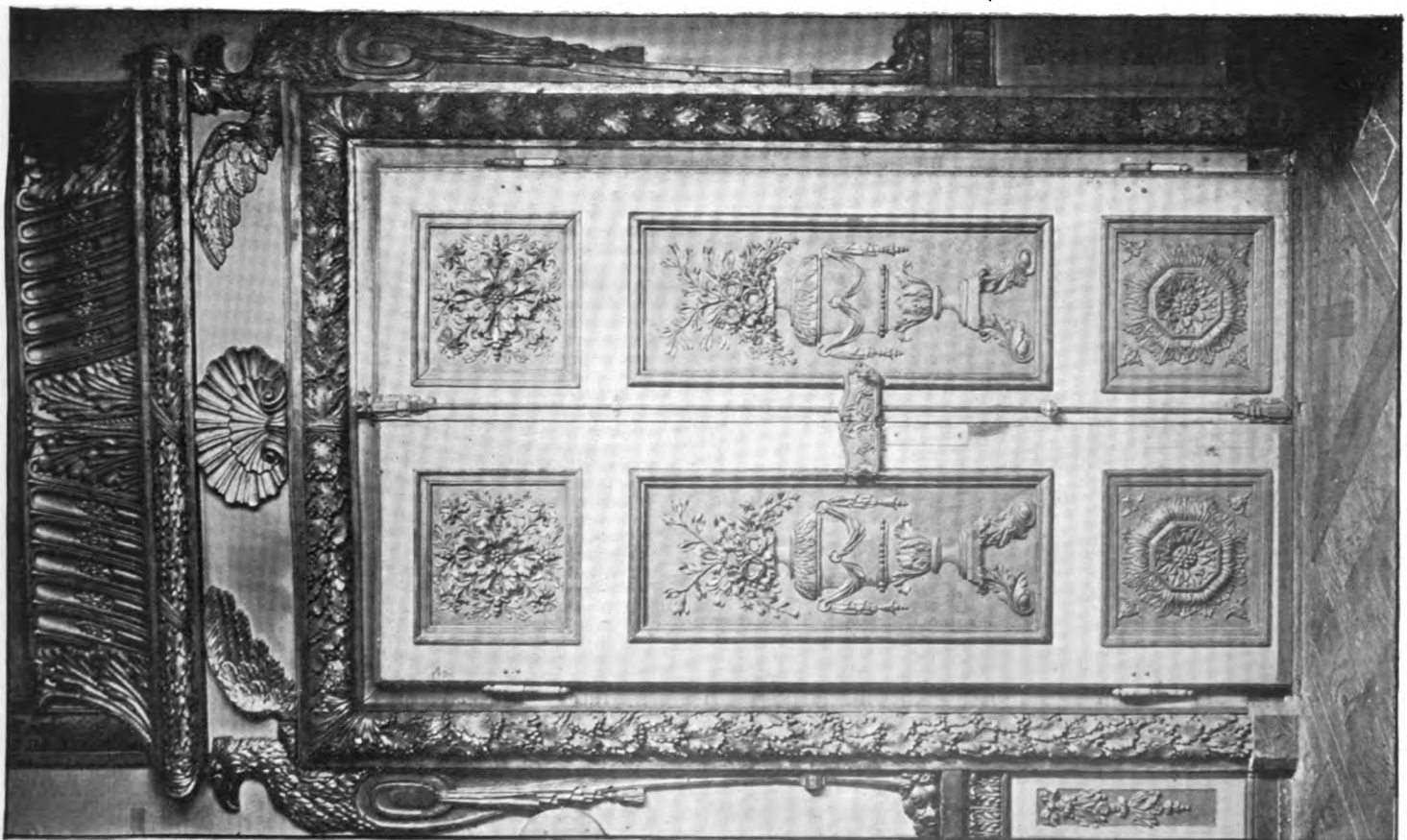
HÔTEL LAUZUN

advantageous marriage further secured his position. The bride was a young girl of noble family, Geneviève de Mouy, who to birth and beauty united another valuable quality, the spirit of foresight. She made an express stipulation in her marriage contract that, come what might, she was to retain as her own property and dwelling "the house which the future husband was finishing in the Île St. Louis, upon the quay opposite St. Paul." One hardly knows whether to admire most so generous a *fiancé*, or so singularly prudent a young lady! This somewhat politic union is written large throughout the building, where we may see the arms of the fair Geneviève and the G of the Gruyns entwined with the M of the Mouys. Gruyn des Bordes had now attained the apogee of his fortunes. Envied but feared, he set the tone of the city. His receptions were renowned, his handsome galleries and saloons forming a perfect setting for his fêtes. But these grandeurs lasted but a short time. Over-confident in his star, despising or affecting to despise public opinion, and blindly following the lead of Superintendent Fouquet, Gruyn and the great speculator both incurred the anger of the young king, and hopeless disaster ensued. In 1661, only three years after the completion of his splendid home, Gruyn was condemned by the High Court of Justice for malpractices, and soon after died in prison. The double event was hailed by popular rejoicings; and a few days before his death Guy Patin wrote: "If perchance the Devil should carry him off, would it be necessary to cry, 'Stop thief'?" And again, "On dit qu'il ne mourra pas. N'est point parceque Dieu l'attend à pénitence? Mais sera-t-elle bonne sans restitution? Nenni-dà! Si Dieu attend que ces gens-là rendent tout ce qu'ils ont dérobé, il a beau attendre." ¶ For the next twenty years the history of the hôtel of the Quai d'Anjou is somewhat equivocal. Crushed and ruined by the scandal, the Gruyn family nevertheless contrived to keep possession of their magnificent

dwelling, but by means of a borrowed personality—that of one Férét, a cobbler; and it was in the name of this obscure personage that the house was sold in 1681 to the famous Duc de Lauzun. ¶ In history certain magical names are in themselves a synthesis. They sum up a character, incarnate a fashion, or symbolize a sentiment. In France the name of Lauzun signifies the very refinement of gallantry, of irresistible charm—the man who never meets with a hard heart, but marches on through life reckless, triumphant, and adored by every woman. ¶ A "cadet" of Gascony destined to far greater successes than Cyrano de Bergerac, Antonin de Nompars de Caumont de Lauzun was born in 1633, and his prudent family, divining his aptitude, despatched him as a mere lad to Versailles, where they had friends and relations in favour at Court, among them the Marquis de Puyguilhem. Fair, slender, handsome, and well-bred, an appearance of extreme frankness concealed the astuteness of the compliant and insinuating southerner. Add to these qualities a lofty bearing, great courage, a certain fantastic turn of mind, absolute assurance in mien and in speech, insolence at times towards men, never-failing courtesy towards women and in his eyes a mute adoration as he spoke to them, and we see that nature had provided the young man with a hand of trumps which he lost no time in playing for high stakes. ¶ Thanks to the Comtesse de Soissons to whom he was presented at Versailles, he rapidly won admission to the intimacy and favour of the King, who was amused and flattered by the sallies of his lively and sarcastic wit. Though appointed Colonel of Dragoons at the age when a "cadet" thought himself lucky to get a captaincy, this was far from satisfying the ambition of the young adventurer; and he soon demanded the then vacant post of Grand Master of Artillery. Louis XIV. actually promised this coveted appointment, only advising his *protégé* to keep silence until he could prepare the way for an announcement

The Burlington Magazine which was certain to provoke intense irritation. But for once our Gascon forgot his usual prudence, and boasted of his success in all directions. A tremendous disturbance ensued, and Louvois, acting as mouthpiece of the malcontents, laid the whole matter before the King, who wavered and began to give way. Then followed an almost incredible scene. Lauzun's protector, the Marquis de Puyguilhem, presented himself in the King's presence, accused him of breaking his kingly word, and, losing all control, broke his sword, declaring he would no longer serve so faithless a monarch. This was too much. The King raised his cane to strike his old servant, but suddenly mastering his anger he flung the cane out of window, exclaiming, "Je ne veux pas avoir le regret de frapper un gentilhomme." ¶ Though the Marquis de Puyguilhem was sent for a short time to the Bastille, Lauzun, strange to say, escaped disgrace. But his immunity in this ordeal led him to consider that for him all things were possible, and henceforth his assurance and self-esteem knew no limits. And now began the strangest adventure of his whole life—the adventure with which his name will be for ever associated—the wild passion he inspired in no less a personage than Mademoiselle de Montpensier, known as "La Grande Mademoiselle," cousin of the King, and granddaughter of Henri IV. Lauzun was now thirty-seven, and had just taken the title of Duke; and Louis XIV., who was really attached to him, could not find it in his heart to refuse the audacious Gascon when he asked for the hand of the princess. But the Court, the city, and all Versailles were up in arms at this amazing news. It was a palace revolution; the excitement was intense; every enemy of the successful favourite made common cause against him; and once more Louvois headed the movement, backed this time by the all-powerful Mme. de Montespan, who had suffered cruelly from Lauzun's bitter mocking tongue. Though the King could not long hold out against the lovely

Marquise, he would not give way at once to the growing clamour of the envious herd. He therefore tried to compromise the matter by offering his favourite the title of *Maréchal de France* if he would renounce his ambitious pretensions, giving him by way of compensation (and also as a means of removing him from Court) the command of an army in Flanders. All might have gone well, for Lauzun seemed willing to accept these terms: but the Court had not counted upon the frantic passion of Mlle. de Montpensier. Losing every vestige of reserve, she was not ashamed to parade her agitation, her anger, and her plans for vengeance. In the face of such a scandal, Louis XIV. could hesitate no longer; and at the end of 1671 Lauzun was imprisoned in the Citadel of Pignerol. ¶ The history of Mlle. de Montpensier goes far to prove that for a woman in love, obstacles cease to exist. For in the end the Grande Mademoiselle triumphed over the curious and watchful Court, over exasperated public opinion, over Louis XIV. himself, who was never considered an easy-going relative or a man disposed to great tenderness. Her triumph, however, was dearly bought, by years of intrigue and a colossal ransom. Such a word sounds oddly at such a time, in such a place, and for such an object: but there was nothing fictitious about it. It consisted of the principality of Dombes, the duchy of Aumale, the earldom of Eu, and certain smaller baronies, which the princess "graciously" ceded to the Duc de Maine, son of the King and Mme. de Montespan. At this magnificent price the handsome Lauzun, wearing the double aureole of misfortune and love, was enabled to leave his prison, "on condition," so said the act of grace, "that he should never come within two leagues of the spot where the King was residing." As the King now lived habitually at Versailles, the duke was able without offence to settle in Paris, where he secretly married his faithful friend, and it is said that the happy couple spent their honeymoon in the gilded and smiling shelter



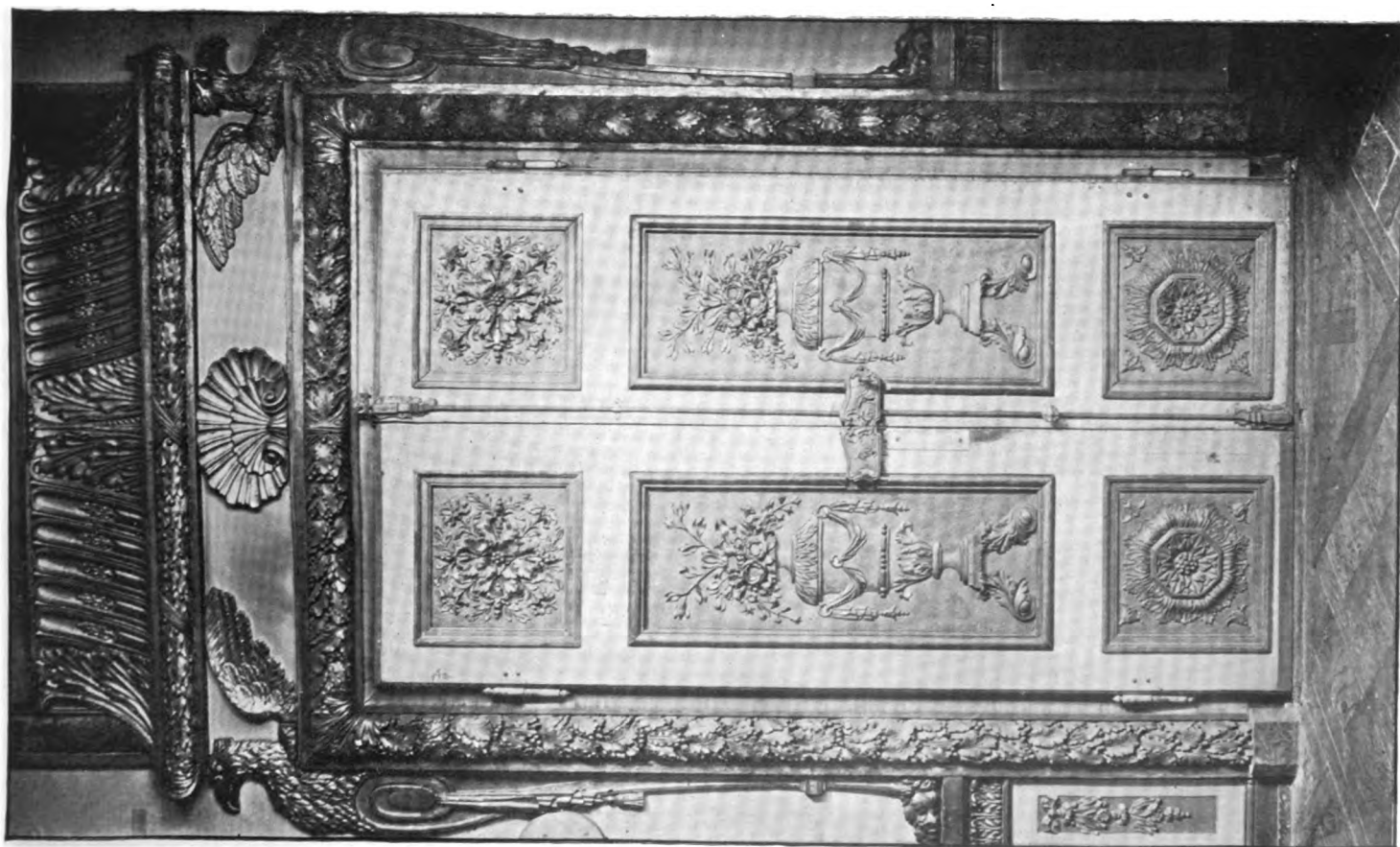
3. DOORS OF THE CHAMBRE DE PARADE

HÔTEL LAUZUN



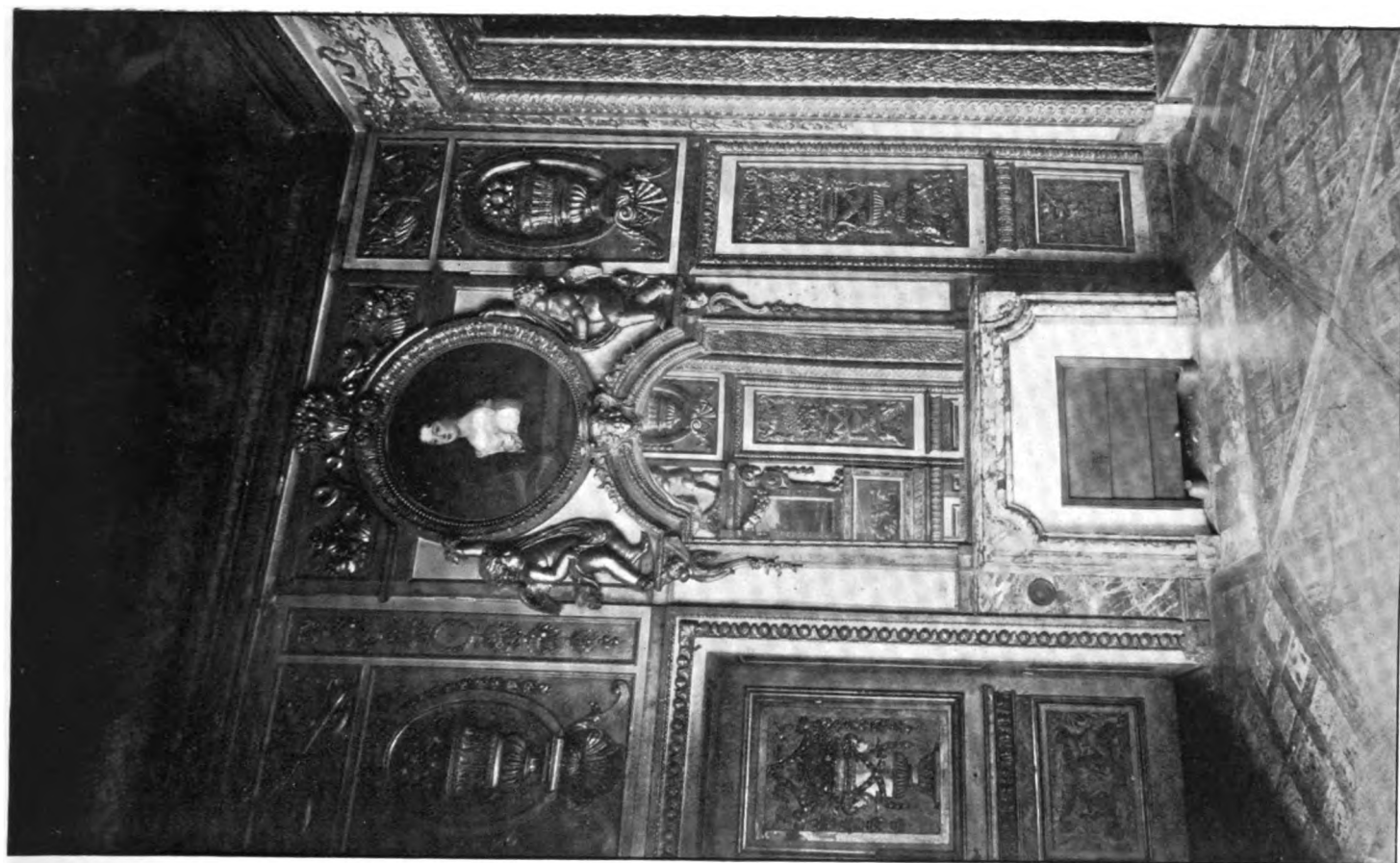
5. STATE BEDROOM, EAST SIDE

HÔTEL LAUZUN



3. DOORS OF THE CHAMBRE DE PARADE

HÔTEL LAUZUN



5. STATE BEDROOM, EAST SIDE

HÔTEL LAUZUN

of our old house of the Quai d'Anjou, which Lauzun had just bought. ¶ Here the historic lovers definitively settled; and Lauzun's first care was yet further to embellish his sumptuous dwelling. Money was not scarce, in spite of the famous ransom; for, as Saint-Simon maliciously remarks, "Lauzun's long captivity had greatly enriched him." To this period we may attribute the decorations of the dining-room, the Chambre de Parade, and the State bedroom; and the old dining-room of the *rez de chaussée* and the chapel above it were now destroyed to make room for the present staircase. Unhappily these artistic occupations, marvellously carried out as we may see to-day, only sufficed for a time to interest the lovers. Two such turbulent, restless natures could not for long be satisfied with a life free from drama, adventure and intrigue, and quarrels soon began — nay, worse — blows ensued. The final catastrophe, probably hastened by the extreme frivolity, not to use a stronger term, of the duke, and the intense jealousy of the princess, is as historic as their former devotion. The pitiless Saint-Simon in two lines writes the epitaph of this celebrated love affair. "Lauzun," he says, "wearied of being beaten, in turn beat madame so soundly that at length, wearied of each other, they quarrelled once for all, and never met again." ¶ After a time Lauzun gave up the hôtel which while it stands will always bear his name; and with his second marriage, after the death of La Grande Mademoiselle in 1693, his intrigues and journeys to England, his expedition to Ireland with 6,000 men in aid of the Jacobite cause, and his death at the age of ninety, it has no connection. ¶ A private house which had witnessed a tragedy such as the fall of Gruyn des Bordes, which for twenty years had lodged the cobbler Férét among all its gold and splendour, which had sheltered the illustrious loves of a Lauzun and a royal princess and then watched their shameful dissensions, might well, one would imagine, be glad to rest from such agitating

history, and, content in future with its own beauty and fame, pass the rest of its existence calmly watching the noble river at its feet. But in no sense of the word is the hôtel of the Quai d'Anjou an ordinary house. And no sooner had Lauzun taken his departure than another couple, equally young and handsome, took possession under equally romantic and tempestuous circumstances. The new Lauzun was the Marquis de Richelieu, the new Montpensier was Mlle. de Mazarin, great-niece of the Cardinal and daughter of Hortense Mancini, who one fine day was forcibly carried off by the Marquis from the peaceful convent of Chaillot. Doubtless the bold cavalier simply desired to emphasize his extreme admiration by these somewhat violent measures; for he quickly married the young lady, and presented her with the hôtel of the Quai d'Anjou, where they lived happily, exempt from the dramas which had signalized Lauzun's occupation. ¶ An austere personage succeeded this gallant and happy couple in 1709—Ogier, Receiver-general of the Church. He consoled himself for his solitary existence by extreme luxury, and devoted enormous sums to the further embellishment of the old house. The pictures in the delicious little salon of the *rez de chaussée* are of Ogier's time, and so it seems are some of the decorations in the salon of the first-floor. His extravagant expenditure caused considerable talk at the time; and Brice, in his "Descriptions de la Ville de Paris" (1752), writes with a spice of malice: "The apartments of this hôtel are rich to magnificence; gold is here lavished with profusion; and one presumes that the owner must have laboured successfully to have acquired so great an amount." ¶ The hôtel next passed for a time into the hands of the Marquis de Tessé, who, however, did not live in it, but sold it early in the reign of Louis XVI. to the Marquis de Pimodan. In the deed of sale the latter is described as "the very high and puissant Lord Charles-Jean de la Vallée, Marquis of Pimodan, seigneur of Passavent, La Chassée,

and other places, master of the cavalry camp, formerly first ensign of the first company of the King's Musqueteers." When the Revolution broke out this fine old gentleman refused to believe in danger, or else took pleasure in braving it. When nearly all his friends and relatives had crossed the frontier he continued to live in state in his luxurious hôtel; he even insisted on driving out every day in his coach, with lacqueys gold-laced and powdered, until one day as he made ready to set forth—his horses pawing at the door, and his servants drawn up in line—he found the hôtel surrounded and the quay occupied by soldiers, the Comité de Salut Public having ordered his arrest. The *ci-devant* yielded with the good grace of a man of the world whom no event can take by surprise, and simply asked to be conveyed to prison in his own coach, which he said "happened to be ready just in time for himself and these gentlemen." ¶ M. de Viollaye, his son-in-law, was soon after this proscribed by the Comité; and the unfortunate man, half distracted and hunted from place to place, bethought himself with some reason that he might find safety in the Hôtel de Lauzun, from which attention had been diverted since Pimodan's arrest. With a thousand precautions and no little risk, he arrived at night and contrived to effect an entrance unperceived. But the beautiful rooms, now all deserted and in confusion, were no fit hiding-place, and it was to the subterranean passage, which still exists, that he turned for safety. This passage led, and still leads, though the entrance is now closed, from the cellars of the hôtel behind the porter's lodge at a considerable depth under the bed of the Seine, coming out on the other bank far away in the country. Here M. de Viollaye remained for several days with scarcely any food, in darkness, damp, and miasma: but at length he managed to find his way out in safety on the right bank and saved his head. ¶ When the tempest of the Revolution had passed, the *ancienne noblesse* was virtually non-

existent in France. Scattered far and wide, their great fortunes gone, the survivors came back after many years only to find their lands and châteaux ruined and despoiled, and their town houses in the hands of *roturiers*. The Hôtel de Lauzun was no exception, and was tenanted by a succession of unknown persons, of whom the most illustrious was one named Capon, the forerunner of "Stickphast," for he was the inventor of sticking paste. ¶ Happily, since 1842 the old house has seen better days, as at that date it was purchased by Baron Jérôme Pichon, a man of taste and wit, and, as has already been said, a keen collector and well-known bibliophile. He did not take possession of his property at once, but let it for some years to a literary pleiad, whose names, hardly known then, are famous to-day, and whose fantastic eccentricities distracted the neighbourhood. These long-haired romantics, among whom were Roger de Beauvoir, Fernand Boissard, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Baudelaire, the celebrated author of "Les Fleurs de Mal," and last, but not least, Théophile Gautier, not only used our old hôtel (then known as the Hôtel Pimodan) as a mystic temple of poetry and art, but also as a centre for strange and unwholesome experiences. For it was here they founded the famous "Club des Haschichins," or opium-eaters, whose infernal deliriums and dreams of paradise have been so graphically described by Théophile Gautier.¹ The spectacle of these orgies must have been striking in such a setting, after the "pâte verte" had been absorbed in the dining-room according to a prescribed ritual, and the members, already under its influence, staggered into the beautiful galleries, sinking on cushions and divans to pass through hours of hideous or blissful hallucinations, marked only by the hands of an enamelled clock borne in a tower on the back of a golden elephant on the old marble mantelpiece. ¶ When Baron Pichon died after a long and distinguished career, in 1896,

¹ Romans et Contes.



4. STATE BEDROOM, SHOWING ALCOVE

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his rich collections and valuable library were dispersed under the hammer. But sooner than allow the beautiful old hôtel to be dismantled and its decorations carried off bodily to the new world, his heirs generously consented to sell it for a most moderate sum to the City of Paris; and the municipality intends to use it shortly as a Museum of Decorative Art of the Seventeenth Century. Tapestries, furniture, and pictures of the Epoch of Louis XIV. will be placed in the noble rooms; and the friends of art may rest assured that the old hôtel, so full of interest in itself and in its memories, will escape the hand of the restorer or curio-hunter and preserve its splendid unity. ¶ The reader must pardon this long digression, as we wait at the head of the wide staircase, which, as we have pointed out, represents the most important change in the original construction of Gruyn's building. A door on the right, now closed, communicated with the apartments on the south of the courtyard. These are temporarily occupied by private families, but will eventually be restored to the hôtel. They were originally the "commons," i.e. servants' quarters, extra guest-chambers, etc., over the stables. But we now cross the stairhead and enter the first of the State-rooms. ¶ If the apartments on the ground floor were ornate, what can we say of this suite of rooms on the first floor? For here we find an absolutely untouched example of the magnificent decorations of the "grand époque," the splendours and display of the reign of Louis XIV., of which the Grande Galerie at Versailles and the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre are the best examples which the public has hitherto had a chance of seeing. ¶ The first room off the stairs is the dining-room, looking east across the court. The walls were originally hung with tapestry, and though this has been removed by the heirs of Baron Pichon, other tapestry of the period will replace it when the hôtel is finally arranged and thrown open to the public. The decorations are in white stucco touched with

gold. Four groups of Loves in high relief, Types of representing schools of science, sculpture, music, and poetry, are placed above the three doors, and the drinking fountain (a modern marble erection, but in admirable taste) at the north and south ends of the room. A stucco frieze runs above these and all round the room under the cornice, decorated with garlands and olive branches. Above the cornice, the coved and painted ceiling is decorated with a deep frieze *en grisaille* of fauns and nymphs holding up garlands round the painted *œils-de-bœuf*, which seem to open out on space. A thick stucco wreath of oak leaves and golden acorns tied with gold ribbons forms the frame of the central allegoric painting on the lofty domed roof—Time discovering Truth, which may, we think, be attributed to the school of Le Sueur. Between the doors at each end of the room are tall recesses containing statues of Apollo and Minerva, round which run admirable wreaths of bay; and the panels of the handsome doors are ornamented with arabesques and oak branches, carved and gilded. ¶ The salon into which we pass from the dining-room looks north across the river. Here, again, tapestry hangings have been removed, but will be replaced by others out of the rich stores belonging to the municipality of Paris. The panelled skirting below is painted with arabesques, and the delicately painted blue sky and soft clouds of the ceiling give a charmingly tender and harmonious tone to the room. The doors are of remarkable beauty, richly carved and gilded, and set in a frame formed of wreaths of olive, bay leaves, and fruit. The tall mirrors, also, are fine. But the most remarkable decorations are four round bronzed stucco medallions, set in golden wreaths and ribbons, representing Cupid and Minerva, Justice, Hebe, and Daphne. These are of great beauty, and appear to be of the same period as those in bronze lent by Queen Victoria to the Pavillon de la Ville de Paris at the Exhibition of 1900. ¶ The next room is the

The Burlington Magazine ancient *Chambre de Parade*, in which the ceremonial *Lever* and *Coucher* of that ceremonious time took place. It occupies the centre of the façade, and its lofty windows open upon the balcony with the fine balustrade of forged iron mentioned above. The centre of the coved ceiling is painted with a History of Venus, set in a deeply moulded gilt frame, with Loves, Fames, and monograms round it, above a frieze of stucco cupids and masks. The doors of this room are exceptionally fine, framed in gilded wreaths of oak and acorns so deeply carved that one can pass the whole length of a finger under the leaves; and the golden conventional eagles which support the door frames and those of two panel pictures give a singular note of dignity to the decorative scheme. These pictures came from the ancient dining-room, and represent Bacchus and Ceres. Four other panels of Pan, Amphion, Museus, and Marsyas, which completed the series, are now in the Musée de Cluny. Besides these there are three large landscapes with figures and five small oval or round pictures in this room, all set in the panelling. The mirrors are very fine; that over the low mantelpiece decorated with gold masks is almost certainly due to Bérain; and the doors at the back of the room, opening into a little dressing-room, are entirely made of looking-glass, reflecting the windows opposite and the green trees of the quay. ¶ From the *Chambre de Parade* we enter the State bedroom, with its deep alcove, all-resplendent with painting and gilding. The alcove or recess for the bed at the back of the room is raised a step above the parquet floor of the rest of the room, and framed in rich mouldings of gilt stucco, with cupids above holding wreaths of flowers and oak leaves. Golden cupids also support the moulded frames of portraits and still-life pictures, and below them are charming landscapes, and panels of Loves bathing or riding a goat, in blue *camaïeu* on a gold ground, with Renaissance arabesques also on gold round the skirting,

and between these are carved and gilt panels of vases and flowers. The whole effect, sumptuous in the extreme, is an admirable example of the style of the late seventeenth century, when such sculptors as Coysevox, Girardon, the Marsys, and Renaudin did not disdain to work under the great Le Brun's directions on decorations of wall and ceiling, while Boileau and Racine wrote inscriptions for his paintings. ¶ The little bedroom or boudoir beyond has a coved ceiling, with arabesques on gold round a charming centre picture of a nymph and Cupid, by some unknown artist. The panelled walls are decorated with painted arabesques on gold; and above the moulding are a series of small landscape and figure paintings. The looking-glasses in this room are formed of four square sheets joined in the centre, and the panels of the doors are carved with vases of flowers, heads, etc., and gilded. A small door at the back of the boudoir gives access to a series of little rooms looking on the courtyard, through which the salon next the dining-room may be reached; but these are no longer in their original condition. ¶ Every detail throughout the hôtel, down to the door-handles and window frames, deserves close attention. Every fresh visit serves to reveal some fresh charm or interest, as we linger in these silent empty rooms, delighting the eye with their rich and harmonious splendour, while the mind tries to conjure up some shadowy vision of the men and women who have dwelt here, recalling their loves, their quarrels, their romantic adventures and hairbreadth escapes. And in the near future, when the old hôtel is once more resplendent with sumptuous furnishings, if perchance in the mists before dawn along the Seine the spirit of the handsome Duc de Lauzun or the delicate silhouette of the Marquise de Richelieu should re-visit their ancient haunts, they will enjoy the illusion that nothing is changed in their noble house, that the same river flows outside, and that the "Roi-Soleil" still reigns.



PIETA VINCENZO FOPPA *Photograph by Hanfstaengl*

BERLIN GALLERY

THE DATE OF VINCENZO FOPPA'S DEATH

GLEANINGS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF S. ALESSANDRO AT BRESCIA

✿ WRITTEN BY C. JOCELYN FFOULKES ✿

THE lives of few painters have been so curiously misrepresented as that of Vincenzo Foppa. Ottaviano Rossi's statement that he flourished in 1407¹ has long been rejected as absurd, but Zamboni's reading of the inscription on Foppa's tombstone, according to which the painter died in 1492², has been unhesitatingly accepted by every art historian, though we gather from Nicoli-Christiani,³ that, prior to the publication of Zamboni's work, it was traditionally asserted that Foppa was still alive in 1505⁴. We cannot tell whence Christiani derived his information, but it was probably from sources now lost to us, and in any case he came considerably nearer the truth than did Zamboni. This latter writer is alone responsible for the confusion which subsequently arose, and his one erroneous statement has led to the propagation of a series of fables involving the necessity of calling into being a Vincenzo Foppa the younger, and of including in biographical dictionaries of artists the life of a painter who never existed. It seems absolutely clear from the documents which have recently come to light at Brescia that there was no Vincenzo Foppa the younger, and that Foppa who was called "il Vecchio," not in order to distinguish him from a younger contemporary, but probably on account of

his great age, was the only painter of his name at Brescia. His heir, and doubtless also his pupil and assistant, was his nephew, Paolo Caylina, a painter who occasionally figures as Paolo Foppa, and has in turn been confused with Paolo Zoppo. ¶ The first indication that Foppa did not die in 1492 is found in two entries in a volume of the Deliberations of the Council of Brescia of the year 1495. As these documents have been printed and fully dealt with in the *Athenæum* (February 15, 1901), it is unnecessary to do more than refer to them here; they prove that up to May 1495 Vincenzo Foppa was still in the service of the Brescian Government, but in that month, for some reason unknown to us, he was dismissed and his salary was cancelled. After June 1495 his name is never again mentioned at the meetings of the council; but from the taxpayers' registers we know that he was living in the first quarter of S. Alessandro,¹ and this knowledge is of the utmost importance, as it has led to the discovery of a number of notices relating to the painter in the archives of that quarter, which prove that his life was prolonged for twenty years and more beyond the date given by Zamboni as that of his death. By an astonishing piece of good fortune, these archives have come down to us in a remarkably good state of preservation. The book in which Francesco da Mantua, the "massaro" of the quarter in 1501, entered the accounts relating to the close of the 15th century, has, indeed, perished; but, with this exception, the rent and account books from 1502 onwards

¹ *Elogi di Bresciani illustri*, p. 508, ed. 1620. The statement was repeated by Ridolfi (1646), Cozzando (1694), and others.

² *Memorie intorno alle Pubbliche Fabbriche di Brescia*, p. 32 note 48, ed. 1778.

³ *Brevi notizie intorno a Pittori Bresciani*, p. 157, ed. 1809.

⁴ Zani in his *Encyclopedia* gives no date for the death of Foppa, but in the course of a long note makes the following observation: "Ho lasciato di marcar l'anno della morte del Foppa quantunque chiaro apparisca nel suo epitaffio, perchè sembrarmi aver letto ch' egli fosse ancora tra viventi nel 1505." See *Enciclopedia . . . delle belle Arti*, Pt. 3, vol. 9, note 84, p. 226.

¹ The city of Brescia had from early times been divided into four quarters named after the principal churches, i.e. S. Faustino, S. Giovanni, S. Alessandro, and S. Stefano; the latter was in the 15th century divided into two quarters called Cittadella Vecchia and Nuova. These quarters were again sub-divided into sections called quadre or vicinie; S. Faustino contained eight of these quadre, S. Giovanni nine, S. Alessandro only two.

are all in existence. Far from being irregularly kept, as I erroneously surmised in 1901, when only a few extracts from these books were known to me, the originals are models of precision and accuracy. ¶ The first quarter of S. Alessandro, with which alone we are concerned, had a well-regulated administration modelled on that of the general governing body of the city, and consisting of two syndics, a massaro or overseer, two legal advisers, registrars, and other officials, with a general and a special council, on the former of which every head or representative of a family was allowed to sit, provided he had lived for ten years in the quarter. Every year he received a voting paper or bolletario entitling him to record his vote for the election of the new syndic. The massaro was elected year by year, and was re-eligible, subject to the approval of the general council.¹ The incoming massaro received from his predecessor in office a book containing the accounts, in which the cash in hand, together with all the sums due to the quarter for rents and other items, was recorded. It was the duty of the massaro to collect these amounts and to settle in current money any bolletino or warrant issued and countersigned by the syndic. To ensure regularity and accuracy a system of book-keeping by double entry had been adopted which, while facilitating the examination of the several accounts, provided for the checking of each item. ¶ Folio 3 of the volume dealing with the years 1502-23 contains entries of payments made to successive massari by Vincenzo Foppa. The fact that this folio, like the others in the volume, bears no heading, explains why it has hitherto escaped the attention of those interested in the life of this painter. Each item appears again in a different part of the account book, viz., among the receipts of the massari, always with a cross reference to folio 3. From these

¹ Up to 1510 a new massaro was elected every year, but during the disastrous years 1511, 1512 the office was vacant. The first massaro elected after the siege was Gio. Batt. de Monte; he was succeeded by Ludovico de Zerbini, who filled the office for six years.

remarks it will be readily understood that we have here the most telling document concerning the date of Foppa's death; so long as his dues to the quarter were paid by him or on his behalf, he must have been alive; but when they are entered as paid by his heirs it is certain that he was dead. ¶ The first mention of Foppa in connection with the quarter of S. Alessandro is in the Estimo of 1498, in which he is called "Vincenzo the painter, the son of the late Giovanni of Bagnolo"; and though at first sight it seemed unlikely that this painter could be identical with Vincenzo Foppa, further research at Brescia has proved the identity beyond doubt. The Estimi were the registers in which the names and addresses of all the taxpayers of Brescia were entered, each quarter being dealt with separately. These registers were not kept very regularly, there being often intervals of from two to fifteen years between them; thus towards the close of the 15th century we have one of 1486, the next in date being 1498. In the former, Vincenzo does not appear, for he was then living at Pavia, where he had settled nearly thirty years previously; in 1490, however, he returned to Brescia, and accordingly was reported in the Estimo of 1498. In previous registers, from 1406 to 1486, no vestige of a painter named Vincenzo of Bagnolo can be found, nor indeed of any painter called Vincenzo; but in 1436 (folio 75) a Giovanni da Bagnolo appears as living in the quarter of the Cittadella who might be identical with the "Giovanni" who is mentioned in the Estimo of 1498 as the father of Vincenzo. ¶ The only other painter Vincenzo who is known to have lived at Brescia between 1493 and 1504 is Vincenzo Civerchio, but Brescian documents prove that Vincenzo Civerchio and Vincenzo da Bagnolo were two distinct persons; for Civerchio is always spoken of in records of this date as "de Crema," and, moreover, he appears in the Estimo of 1498 as living in a different quarter from that inhabited by

ling quattro e soldi quindici e dandogli meo acti pmo
de aprile 1762 vengo appreso al libro de A. ref 36. et qto x lo meo 1502
findo acti ling quattro e soldi quindici per

...g to the

Il nostro vungo foppe
di q. 82. marte. fe di q. 82. x fure di ozij pparire. di dare q. lo feto hualto e
per ozij mio in tali di aprile 99. ala miffione vniuerfale. di v. co
fichime uenato e appreso ne dua. folla. et adiffe fobrie. etc. et done hūn
le pte m. vungo. 300. i la greda di porte noua. et rima a domany la
folla.

de aprilie 1862 rãmă aparut alături de A. și 36. și 47 și la fine 1502
finisat alături de 36 și 47 și la fine 1502

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It is no longer a question of whether it is possible to

17/1 lo amo finito nel 9° 1/2 1507

[Handwritten signature], me finto mto p^o agosto 1508

La mmo finis ad 1° ap'le 1709

1510

For the two persons only to April 1521

1000 Two hundred and 1000 --- 1512 ---

P to 10 one front adj'p db: 1- 1513 -
 1st 1 one line 8: 16 1/2

1514 -
1515 -

Il glo mio finito di 1° d'1/2 - 1516 -

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{r^2} \right) = -\frac{2}{r^3} \frac{dr}{dt}$

[illegible]

Frsg to and from - and for 1519 -

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. The handwriting is in a cursive style typical of 18th-century manuscripts.

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VINCENZO FOPPA'S LEASE—LIBRO DEI LIVELLARI A. f.

[illegible][illegible]

Laurey & the boys' presence has the greatest of results.

Vincenzo the son of the late Giovanni da Bagnolo, as will be seen by the following extracts :

Estimo 1498, fol. 120 :	Estimo 1498, fol. 168 :
Quadra Quarta	Quadra Prima S. Alex-
S. Faustini.	andri.
Vincentius de Crema,	Vincentius quondam
Pictor.	Jo. de Bagnolo, Pictor.

The obvious conclusion then is that Vincenzo the painter who was living in the first quarter of S. Alessandro in 1498 was identical with a painter of the same name who was living in that quarter in 1501; and that this painter was Vincenzo Foppa il Vecchio, is proved by a number of entries in the archives of S. Alessandro which are now published in full for the first time. ¶ Foppa, the name by which he is universally known in the history of art, is merely a dialect form of Fossa—in Brescian dialect Fopa—signifying a pit, moat, or grave, and may have been bestowed upon him as a nickname or “sopranome” for some reason unknown to us. As we know from two documents of 1458 and 1489 respectively that his father’s name was Giovanni, and from the Estimo of 1498 that he was Giovanni of Bagnolo, we must assume that the painter’s full name was Vincenzo de Fopa da Bagnolo. ¶ The next notice of this painter Vincenzo in the quarter of S. Alessandro occurs among the accounts of Francesco da Mantua, the overseer of that quarter in 1501-2. The book in which they are contained is labelled: Quadr. Mastr. Cass. 1502-23, Masseria I°. The first part, the Libro delle partite dei Livellarii, deals with the letting of houses and payment of rents and other dues (ff. 1-71); the second part (from f. 148 to the end) contains statements of accounts entered by the different overseers between 1502 and 1523; the intervening pages from ff. 72-147 are blank. The entry is as follows :—

f. 148.

Exaction fatta per mi Francesco da Mantua massaro della prima quadra di S^{ro} Alex^{ro} 1501,

1502. Item adi 12 agosto scossi da M^{ro} Vincenzo pentor liri nove et soldi dese fo. 36 et hevi lo boletino- - - £9 s. 10

The Date
of Vincenzo
Foppa’s
Death

Page 36, to which he here refers for the contents of the bolletino, was doubtless in the book which he received from his predecessor in office, and which, as already stated, is no longer in existence; in all probability the sum named had to do with arrears of rent, the “riscossione dei redditi” being one of the chief duties of the massaro, which, if neglected, would have disqualified him for re-election. ¶ Turning now to the beginning of the rent book we find on fol. 2v. (see illustration) a long entry to the effect that in 1502, “Master Vincenzo Foppa, the excellent painter,” took the lease of a house in the contrada Porta Nova for 21 years, the rent for which (£4 s. 15) was to be paid on the first of April of each year. On the opposite page (f. 3) we find a great number of entries relating both to money owing to the quarter, and to payments made to the various overseers between the years 1502 and 1517. ¶ There is nothing on this page which at first sight would lead us to suppose that these notices referred in any way to Vincenzo Foppa and his contract on f. 2v.; nevertheless, as has been already observed, the corresponding entries in the overseer’s accounts with cross references to this page (f. 3) establish the fact beyond the possibility of doubt, and though the painter is more usually spoken of as “Vincenzo depentor” he twice figures as “Vincenzo Foppa,” thus proving that he is identical with the “optimo pictor” who took the lease of the house in 1502. In order to make this clear we reproduce the two pages from the rent book, and give in parallel columns some of the principal entries with the corresponding items from the account books.¹

¹ I venture here to express my gratitude to Signor Pietro da Ponte for informing me of the existence of these archives, and for much kind help and advice, and more especially to Don Santo Lozio, the Priest of S. Alessandro, who with the utmost courtesy placed all the MSS. relating to the quarter at my disposal.

f. 148.

Exaction fatta per mi
Francesco da Mantua
massaro . . . etc.

f. 3.

E de havere adi 16 16 zugno 1502 scossi
zugno 1502 contadi a da M^{ro} Vincenzo pen-
Hippolyto s. quaranta tor soldi quaranta otto
otto - - £2 s.8 £2 s.8

¶ "Hippolyto" was the overseer, whose full name we know from many documents to have been Francesco Hippolyto da Mantua, and the entry on f. 148 proves that this first notice on f. 3 refers to a sum of money paid to him by Vincenzo the painter. Then follow two notices of payments made in 1503 to the overseer Apollonio Botano "per uno puto a suo nome" and "per la sua dona" (see illustration, fol. 3), which coming as they do immediately after the entry of June 16 can only refer to the same person, who, we know from f. 148, was Vincenzo the painter. Of these two entries no duplicates appear to exist, but the three following (see illustration, f. 3) are unmistakably referred to in the accounts of Bompani, the overseer, for 1505-1506; on f. 3 we find that £3 s.13 was paid to this massaro in June 1505 "per la donna del suprascripto Maystro Vincenzo," and subsequently two further payments of £6 and £4 s.15 had been made up to July 1506. In the corresponding entry on f. 152 this interesting observation occurs:—

"Ego Bompannis de Bompanis mass. p^a
quadra S. Al. de anno 1505-1506
It. recepi a magistro Vincentio pictore libras
quattordecim et s. octo planet *in tribus postis*
ut in isto f. 3." - - - - £14 s.8

Twenty soldi being equal to £1 this is the exact sum which was paid by Master Vincenzo in three instalments between 1505 and 1506, i.e., £3 s.13, £6, and £4 s.15. ¶ After an interval of two years the entries begin again, and, with the exception of the disastrous years 1511, 1512, Vincenzo is referred to every year—in the rent book up

to October 1513, and among the accounts up to 1516, when, as already stated, the reference is to his heirs. We quote these entries in full as follows:—

f. 156.

Prima quadra, etc. .
. . . de haver dami
Zoanbapt^a (the over-
seer, 1507-8)
scossi a suo nome dali
infrascripti suoi debi-
tori, videlicet
Da M^{ro} Vizenzo depen-
tor come in questo a
f. 3 - - £10 s.8

f. 3.

It. rec. per mi Zoan-
bapt^a da Monte massaro
a suo nome da Zacharia
Tabarini adi 6 decembr.
1508 liri dese et soldi
otto, cioè - £10 s.8

f. 3.

It. dalo suprascrip-
to numeratum a M^{ro}
Franc^o Barbaro a nome
de la quadra adi 24 ma-
jo 1509 - £1 s.5

f. 156v.

Da M^{ro} Vincenzo
deponor.
. . . adi 24 majo
1509 - - £1 s.5

f. 3.

It. adi 28 aug^u 1509
numerati per la sua do-
na liri trey in oro - £3

f. 156v.

It. dal supr. M^{ro} Vin-
cenzo et numerati per
la sua donna adi 28
aug^u 1509 - £3 s.7¹

It. numerati ami adi
30 decembr. 1509 sol-
di dese - - s.10

It. adi 30 decembr.
M^{ro} Vincentio pictori
s.10

f. 158.

It. num. adi XII no-
vembr. 1510 liri quatro
soldi quindesi per la
sua dona - £4 s.15

It. die XII novembr.
1510 ab uxore M^{ri} Vin-
centii pictoris lbr. quat-
tuor sold. quindecim
planet - £4 s.15

f. 161v.

La p^a quadra, etc. de
dar spesi per M. Vivi-
ano de Viviani . . .
. vice massaro
in omnibus ut supra
continetur
It. per far far lanta su-
la botega compra dal
ricamador la quala era
stata rota dai franzosi
de ano 1512 - £2 s.5

f. 3.

It. num. adi XII
sept. 1513 per far con-
zar suso la anta sula bo-
tega compra da (?) Zo-
an Pedro ricamador adi
XII sept. 1513 - £2 s.5

¹ The payment having been made in gold, the seven soldi entered on f. 156v. do not appear on f. 3.

f. 161v.
 Scossi per mi Zoan-
 bapt^a da Monte suo
 mass per lo ano 1512
 dali infrascr.
 It. da M^{ro} Vizenzo de-
 pentor rec. per Ser Vivi-
 ano in doy posti come
 in questo a f. 3 - £4 s.5

f. 163v.
 Scossi per mi Lud.
 Zerbini mass per lo an-
 no 1514
 It. da M^{ro} Vincentio
 depentor come in ques-
 to a f. 3 - £1 s.10

Dallo supr. M^{ro} Vin-
 centio depentor come
 in questo a f. 3
 £2 s.10

f. 165v.
 It. da M^{ro} Vincenzo
 depentor come in ques-
 to a f. 3 - £3

It. da M^{ro} Vincentio
 Foppa depentor a f. 3
 £2 s.5

f. 166.
 Mi Lud. Zerbi mass.
 confirmato de la p^a qua-
 dra etc. debo dar per li
 infrasc. denari scossi
 dali infr. prefati debi-
 tori de essa quadra et
 questo per lo annociove
 1515 It. dal
 M^{ro} Vincenzo depentor
 come in questo a f. 3
 £4

It. da li herede de
 M^{ro} Vincentio depen-
 tor come in questo a
 f. 3 - £3

f. 3.
 It. contadiami Vivi-
 ano vice massaro et sin-
 daco per lo supr. M^{ro}
 Vincenzo adi XIII oct.
 1513 - - £2

f. 3.
 It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo Zerbi massaro per
 M^{ro} Paulo suo nipote
 adi 4 marzo 1514
 £1 s.10

f. 3.
 It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo suprascripto per lo
 supr. M^{ro} Paulo adi 11
 marzo 1514 - £2 s.10

f. 3.
 It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo Zerbi supr. per lo
 supr. M^{ro} Paulo adi
 p^o decebr. 1514 - £3

It. ami Ludovigo
 supr. per lo supr. M^{ro}
 Paulo adi 4 januarii
 1515 - - £2 s.5

f. 3.
 It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo supr. per lo supr.
 adi 13 marzo 1515
 £2 s.5

It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo supr. per lo supr.
 adi ultimo maii 1515
 ciove - - £4

It. contadiami Ludo-
 vigo supr. per lo supr.
 adi 16 octobr. 1516
 £3

¶ It is clear from these entries, and a The Date
 great number of similar ones in the ar- of Vincenzo
 chives of S. Alessandro, that the money Foppa's
 was not always paid by the debtor in per- Death
 son, but was often sent by a messenger,
 though in the rent book, f. 3, it is always
 noted with the greatest precision who this
 messenger was. Thus on one occasion
 Vincenzo sends his money by "uno puto,"
 possibly an assistant from his workshop,
 who pays it in the "piazola S. Alessandro"
 —that is, of course, he brought it to the
 overseer's office, the Casa della Quadra,
 which stood in the Piazza, and the site
 of which is still marked by a stone in-
 scribed: "Domus quadrae Scti Alexandri,
 MCCCCCLXV." On another occasion the
 money—the largest sum recorded on the
 page—was paid in the name of Vincenzo
 by a friend. Several times his wife settled
 the accounts; but on October 13, 1513,
 he appears to have paid the money in per-
 son, whence it is clear that he was still
 alive at that time. The duplicate of this
 entry (f. 161v.) notes that Vincenzo the
 painter paid the sum of £4 s.5 in two in-
 stalments; the second payment, of £2, was
 apparently the one made on October 13,
 and we must conclude that the sum of
 £2 s.5, paid a month earlier (September 12)
 was the first instalment, though without the
 notice on f. 161v. no one would have sup-
 posed that this entry could have anything
 to do with Foppa. It refers, as will be seen,
 to repairs, executed in consequence of the
 damage done by the French during the
 siege of 1512, to the bottega which had
 been bought from the embroiderer Zuan
 Pietro. We know from other documents
 that the latter belonged to a celebrated fa-
 mily of embroiderers, who had sold their
 workshop to the quarter in 1511. The in-
 ference is that Foppa rented it from the
 quarter; for, if this were not the case, why
 should the entry appear on a page dealing
 with his accounts? and why should the re-
 pairs have been charged to him? as from
 the entries of September 12 and October 13

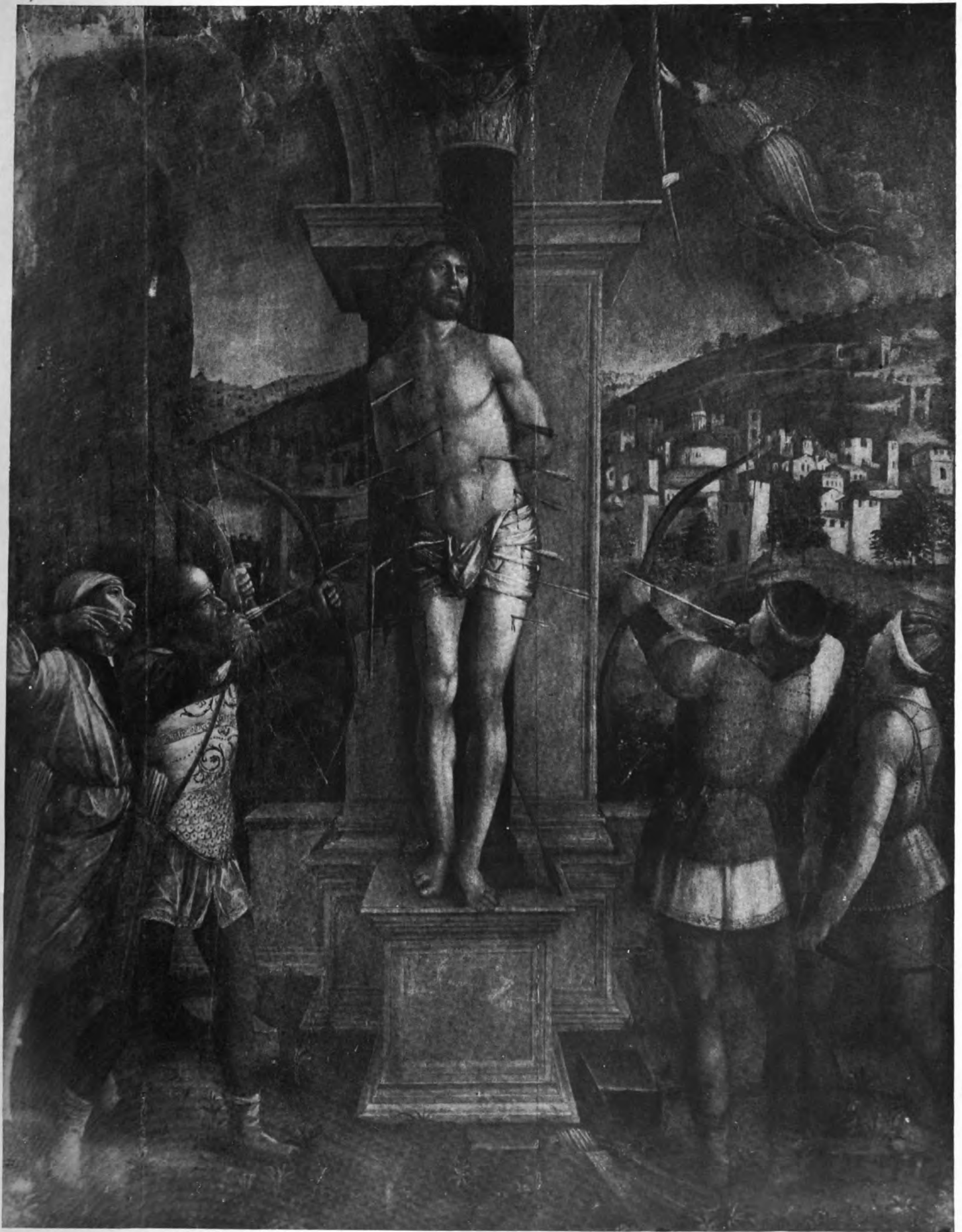
we gather that they were.¹ ¶ The next entry is of vital importance, for here we have absolute proof that all these notices refer to no other than Vincenzo Foppa il Vecchio. It tells us that on March 4, 1514, the sum of £1 s.10 was paid to the overseer by the nephew of Foppa, "per M^{ro} Paulo suo nipote"; the duplicate entry (f. 163v.) proves that the sum was obtained from the painter Vincenzo, and quotes f. 3 in confirmation of it. The Estimo of 1517 shows the exact degree of the relationship existing between the two. Paulo was the son of Bartolommeo Caylina, the brother of Foppa's wife, and was consequently his nephew by marriage. From this time forward Vincenzo's name appears no more on f. 3, but his debts to the quarter were paid by Paulo in person in March and October, 1514, and in January, March, and May, 1515. From the duplicates (ff. 163v.-166) it is clear that the money was paid by him on behalf of his uncle, who figures three times as Vincenzo depentor and twice as Vincenzo Foppa, and after each entry we are referred to f. 3. On October 16, 1516, Paulo pays £3 to the quarter; but in the duplicate on f. 166 it is noted that this sum was paid by the heirs of Master Vincenzo the painter. ¶ The death of Foppa must therefore have occurred between May 31, 1515, and October 16, 1516. Paulo, his nephew, then steps into his place, and henceforward the notices on this and the following page refer to payments made by him.² From f. 2v. of the rent-book, containing the terms of Foppa's lease, we learn that Caylina inherited all his uncle's goods: "Nota quod de suprascriptis bonis investitus fuit M^{ro} Paulus de Caylina pictor ut

¹ On f. 164 we find that on April 25, 1514, Ludovico Zerbi gave a sum of money (the amount is not named) to a certain "donna patientia," as final payment for these repairs, "per compito pagamento dela anta dela botega dal ricamador fece conzar." As the money was paid to her, and is not entered on the sheet of Foppa's accounts, we may conclude that Donna Patientia was not his wife, but received the money for the workman who had carried out the repairs.

² Excepting, perhaps, the last item on f. 3, which is not clear. It refers to payments made to a carpenter, Manfredo, for wood furnished for the door of S. Alessandro and for scaffolding. It is not apparent why this should be entered on Foppa's page of accounts, but there was, doubtless, good reason for it. Manfredo was, as we know from f. 49v. of the rent-book, one of his next-door neighbours.

apparet in isto f. 71"; and in the Estimo of 1517, as already noted, we find him registered as living in Foppa's house. The payments by Paulo on ff. 3 and 3v. continue to be entered as before, but, as in the case of Foppa, the money was not always paid by him in person; thus, on June 7, 1521, we find the following notice:—"Per parte del pretio dovuto per lo livello supra-scr. . . . numerato per M^{ro} Vincenzo textor suo visino, £3 s.15," and on f. 182v., "Da M^{ro} Paulo depentor adi 7 Junii, 1521, libr. trey soldi quindese per parte delo livello in isto a f. 3 numerati per M^{ro} Vincenzo textor." ¶ According to the rent book (f. 58), this weaver, Vincenzo de Fassoli da Zorzi, in 1517, took part of a house in contrada Porta Nova, next to that formerly inhabited by Foppa; he was therefore Paulo Caylina's next-door neighbour, and was often commissioned by him (ff. 3v., 185, 186, 186v., 193v.) to settle his debts with the quarter, and after the first entry (f. 3v.) is always spoken of as M^{ro} Vincenzo. His further history does not concern us, but it is necessary to establish his identity and to point out that he had nothing whatever to do with Foppa, lest some future student of this book of accounts in the archives of S. Alessandro should fall into the trap of supposing that the Vincenzo here named in such close proximity to Vincenzo Foppa must be "Vincenzo Foppa the younger." ¶ Paulo's payments registered on f. 3v. continue with their duplicate entries (ff. 166, 166v., 169v., 171v., 182v., 186, 186v., 193, 193v.) up to December 20, 1523; on that day Paulo paid £1 s.3 to the massaro Ludovico Offlaga, and with this entry the account closes, this being the last instance of a reference to f. 3v. The next entry (on f. 193v.) referring to Paulo is as follows: "M^{ro} Paulo de Caylina pictor, die 24 Oct. 1524 in isto f. 71." Foppa, as we know from f. 2v., took the house in Porta Nova up to 1523; at the time of his death, therefore, assuming it to have occurred in 1516, the lease had still seven

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ST. SEBASTIAN VINCENZO FOPPA

CASTELLO MUSEUM, MILAN

years to run. Up to 1523 all the payments were made under the terms of Foppa's agreement and were entered in his account, and it is therefore clear why the corresponding entries should in every case have a cross reference to f. 3; but on the expiration of the lease in 1523 Paulo Caylina renewed it in his own name, and the fresh agreement is entered on f. 71 of the rent book A¹ as follows :—

M^{ro} Paulo de Caylina depentore de dare per esser sta investito de li beni de li quali soleva esser investito M^{ro} Vincenzo de Fopa depentore come apare in questo a f. 3 de la qual investitura e sta rogato Istro. per d. Franc^o da Mantua not. sic instantibus D. Jacomo da Cazago et Viviano de Viviani sindici dela supr. quadra de le quali beni paga afluatim de livello libr. quarto et soldi quindese de planet comenzano a pagar per lo primo anno die primo de aprile 1524 zoe - - - - - £4 s.15

On the opposite page is the following entry :—

M^{ro} Paulo conscripto de haver contadi ami Ludovico Offlaga mass. adi 24 Octobr. 1524 al conto del livello conscripto uno scuto doro videlicet libr. trey soldi sette de planet - - - - - £3 s.7

It. di haver contado per lo supr. ami Lud. Offlaga adi 23 dec. 1524 soldi desesette de planet zoe - - - - - s.17

This is the last entry referring to him in the rent book A, but in the next volume, Mass. II^o, Anno 1524, Libro dei Livellarii B., we find further information relating to Caylina and his connection with Foppa :

f. 21.

Magistro Paulo de Caylina pentor habitator in bressa che fa per nome suo et de luy fioli *heredi per testamento de q. M^{ro} Vincenzo de Fopa depentor* livellario de la universita quadra de una casa etc. cum corte et orto zase in la cita di bressa in la contrada supr. di S. Alessandro sive de Porta nova di la qual casa lo supr. M^{ro} Paulo e sta investito come appare per Istro. de investitura in luy fatta rogata per mi

¹ Hence the last entry mentioned above (on ff. 3v. and 193v.), refers to f. 71, and the note on f. 2v. also refers to this page.

Francisco not. supr. adi otto del mese de mazo 1523 et ancora per me registrada in lo libro de membrana dela supr. quadra in f. 25 (now lost).

The Date
of Vincenzo
Foppa's
Death

From scattered notices in the archives of S. Alessandro, the position of this house once tenanted by Vincenzo Foppa and his heirs can be exactly determined. In a volume labelled Libro Istromenti I^o, containing a number of legal documents, we find two of December 1455 relating to the purchase of houses by Venturino de Salis and Marco Boarno. The house of V. de Salis, which he purchased from Cristoforo de Casii, was situated in the contrada Porta Nova, "where the tower or fort of the said Porta Nova of the old Citadel of Brescia used to be" ("ubi solebat esse turre rocha et fortificium predictae Portae Novae cittadellae veteris Brixiae"), and was contiguous to the street on the north and east. South of it was the garden of the above-named Cristoforo de Casii; on the west was the house taken by Marco Boarno, and his contract also contains a notice to the effect that it stood on the spot where the old tower used to be. His neighbours on the east were Petrus de Pesentes and Cristoforo de Casii.¹ ¶ From an entry on f. 1 of the rent book, Anno 1502—23, we learn that "Ser Venturino de Salis, or rather his heirs," paid rent for the same house, the position of which is again accurately described ("where the old tower was," etc., and "bordering the street on the north and east"), and "south of it was the garden of Ser Cristoforo de Casii, or *rather now of Maystro Vincenzo depentor*." From f. 2v. of the rent book, containing Foppa's agreement, we gather that his house, which he had taken from the son of Cristoforo Casii, was contiguous to the street on the east, and

¹ In the Estimi, Cristoforo de Casii, chemist, son of Mafeo of Orzinovo, can be traced as living in the first quarter of S. Alessandro, from 1430 up to 1475, when he is succeeded by his son Matteo. The latter was still living in 1498, as he is registered in the Estimo of that year; but by 1502 he too was dead, for in Foppa's contract (f. 2v.) it is stated: "El qual (Foppa) have rason de quondam Ser Matheo f. de quondam Ser Cristoforo di Casii speciar." It is evident that Cristoforo owned two houses lying close together in contrada Porta Nova, one of which he disposed of to V. de Salis, the other, bounded on the east by the street and on the south by a garden, he inhabited himself, letting a portion to Petrus de Pesentes (contract of M. Boarno: "a mane M. P. de Pesentes et *peritum* C. de Casii," etc.).

from f. 1 we know that he also rented the garden. ¶ These notices enable us to determine the site of Foppa's house with certainty. At the corner of the present Via Trieste and Via Porta Nuova stands a house now known as Casa Vergine, built upon a portion of old wall; this, according to Monsignor Fé d'Ostiani¹ and other authorities on Brescian topography, marks the site of the old tower alluded to above; the house looks north into Via Trieste and east into Via Porta Nuova, and stands precisely on the spot where stood the house of Venturino de Salis; the house next to it in Via Porta Nuova, looking east and bounded on the south by Via Pendente, is now known as Casa Ettore, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that it stands upon the site once occupied by the house and garden of Cristoforo Casi, which was eventually tenanted by Vincenzo Foppa and his heirs. ¶ The garden was later made over by Paulo Caylina to his neighbours the brothers Boarno,² but the house he took for a term of years from 1524 to 1558, though, like Foppa, he did not live to see the end of his lease. He can be traced as tenant throughout the volume labelled Mass. II^o, Libro B., and though his name often appears in a garbled form, his identity is always proved by the references to f. 21. Thus in 1539 we have this entry:—"It. da M^{ro} Paulo de Fophi depentor come apare a f. 21, £4 s. 3"; and on the f. 21 referred to: "Scossi per mi Paulo Porzano da M^{ro} Paulo depentor, £4 s. 3," an interesting proof that more than twenty years after Foppa's death Paulo Caylina was still so closely associated with him by the officials of the quarter as to be actually

¹ Storia etc. nelle Vie di Brescia VI. 48: "Portanova.—Sorgeva toccando a mezzodi i confini delle attuali case Rampinelli e Vergine, anzi quest' ultima fu eretta sui ruderi di una torre o controforte della porta come scorgesi sul suo fianco orientale." Capilupi, who wrote a history of the quarter (MS. in the possession of Don Santo Lozio, Prevosto of S. Alessandro), assumed that the house of V. de Salis stood on the site now occupied by Casa Fontana at the corner of Via delle Antiche Mura and Porta Nuova; but this view is certainly incorrect.

² Among the accounts of Bernardino and Vincenzo Boarno, f. 69 of rent book A, we find this entry:—

Item de dare per lo terreno sive orto compro da li herede di
M^{ro} Vincenzo depentor annuatim de livello in soldi
dodese de planet zoe s. 12

registered under his uncle's name. ¶ In 1544, and later, the rent was paid on his behalf by his son-in-law Niccolo Orsoni, and the last notice of Paolo occurs in 1547. As he does not appear in the Estimo of 1548, though he had been registered in that of 1534, we may conclude that he died in 1547 or 1548. His heirs did not succeed him in the house, for it was taken over, together with the neighbouring house which formerly belonged to Venturino de Sali, by the Boarno family, as we see from rent book C. Mass. III^o, ff. 1 and 17. No record of Paulo Caylina, or of his son-in-law Orsoni, has so far been found in the Polizze d'Estimo, the census papers which in recent years have been searched for information relating to Brescian artists and have yielded much valuable material, and thus all further trace of Foppa and his family is lost. ¶ The tantalizing reference on f. 21 to the will of Foppa naturally arouses the hope that so valuable a document, which might throw light upon the last period of his life, may still be in existence; the chances of its coming to light are unfortunately extremely remote. The Archives at Brescia have up to the present yielded no trace of it, and of the many notaries known to us by name who lived in the quarter of S. Alessandro in the 16th century, and drew up legal documents for the inhabitants, not one is represented among the deeds of the Archivio Notarile at Brescia. In the absence of Foppa's will the side lights afforded by these notices at S. Alessandro, fragmentary, trivial, and dry as they may appear, are nevertheless of considerable value and interest. They prove, in the first place, that Foppa lived about twenty-three years longer than has been hitherto supposed, and that in consequence his artistic activity must have extended over the first decade of the 16th century. It is possible that in such works as the three pictures here reproduced, namely, the Adoration of the Magi in the English National Gallery, the Pietà at Berlin, and the S. Sebastian of the Castello Museum at Milan, which hitherto



ADORATION OF THE MAGI VINCENZO FOPPA

NATIONAL GALLERY



ADORATION OF THE MAGI VINCENZO FOPPA

NATIONAL GALLERY

have of necessity been ascribed to a period prior to 1492 (the supposed year of Foppa's death), we may have examples of his later work; this would explain the presence in these pictures of certain elements and characteristics which it would otherwise be difficult to account for in paintings, even of the last decade of the 15th century.¹ Further, these documents rescue from oblivion the nephew and heir of Foppa, a painter whose works still await identification, but who cannot in future be ignored in the history of art. He is undoubtedly better entitled to a place among Brescian painters of the 16th century than is that purely fictitious personage Vincenzo Foppa the younger, whose name is met with in many encyclopedias of painters,² though Fenaroli, after devoting a page to him in his Dictionary of Brescian Artists, admits that in spite of the most diligent search he has failed to discover any definite facts relating to the life of this painter. This can hardly surprise us when on closer investigation we find that the whole fabric upon which his biography has been built rests on two hypotheses which are themselves baseless. The first was put forward by Zamboni, who found an entry in the *Bulletario della Città* recording the payment of a certain sum to Foppa on July 16, 1495. Zamboni, believing that Foppa died in 1492, suggested that the money might have been paid to his heirs. The suggestion was at once adopted, and Brugnoli and subsequent writers stated definitely that the money was paid *to the heirs of Foppa*; we, however, know for a fact that it was actually paid to Vincenzo Vecchio himself.³ ¶ The second reason given

¹ Of the S. Sebastian in the Castello it would perhaps be more prudent not to speak, considering the present condition of the picture; it has now been removed for restoration to the atelier of Cav. Luigi Cavenaghi, the distinguished Milanese restorer and connoisseur. The result of his investigations will be awaited with great interest, as it may serve to throw a new light upon the authorship of the picture, and upon the probable date of its production.

² In the last edition of Mueller's *Künstlerlexikon* the suggestion is made that "Vincenzo Foppa the younger" may have been only a "Sammelname" and not a distinct personality, or that he may have been confounded with Vincenzo Civerchio.

³ See the entry in the *Provvisioni* of June 12, 1495, and the *Athenaeum*, Feb. 15, 1902, p. 216, where this document is discussed. The *Bulletario della Città* alluded to above was formerly in the Brescian Archives, but has unfortunately disappeared.

for the existence of a younger Foppa was the statement of Alessandro Sala that he had seen in the collection of Signor Giovanni Averoldi at Brescia a picture inscribed, "1495. Depicta per magistrum Vincentium Brixiensem." No writer before Sala mentions this picture, and no trace of it is now to be found at Brescia; but the inscription, if genuine, points to Vincenzo Vecchio, who, as we have seen, lived until 1515 or 1516. There were, as we know from the *Estimi*, several painters named Vincenzo living at Brescia in the 16th century, and works of this date which we occasionally meet with bearing the signature "Vincenzo Bresciano" may have been executed by one or other of them; but none of these painters bore the name of Foppa, nor were any of them, so far as we know, connected with him by ties of relationship.¹ It is of course possible that some record may in the future be discovered proving that there was a younger painter named Vincenzo Foppa, but the reasons hitherto adduced as proofs of his existence are certainly insufficient and are wholly unsupported by documentary evidence. On the other hand it seems extremely probable that the painter "Paulo," who is mentioned by Brescian writers as the colleague of Ferramola, was not Paolo Zoppo, as has been supposed, but Paolo Caylina, Foppa's nephew and heir. ¶ Paulo the associate of Ferramola is said by Pandolfo Nassino to have worked with him in S^a Giulia; on p. 142 of his diary this writer observes: "Adi sey de Febraro 1532 fui sopra a quello locho (S^a Giulia)"

¹ In the *Estimi* we find the following:—

Quadra II^a Alex^{da}.

Anno 1534 f. 74v. Vincentius q. Jo. Bapt. de Capreolis, pictor.

" 1548 f. 89v. Vincentius de Luchinis q. Alex. Sutoris, pictor.

In other quarters of the city we find the painters Vincenzo de Seriate, Vincenzo da Chiari, Vincenzo Pacchio, etc. In Pandolfo Nassino's account of the expenses incurred for the funeral of Altobello Averoldi in 1531, there are recorded numerous payments to a painter Vincenzo de Rodi (*Registro di molte cose scritte da D.^o Pandolfo Nassino*, f. 276, MS. Bibl. Queriniana, Brescia). Any one of these painters when employed in other places would doubtless have signed his work "Vincenzo Bresciano," which form of signature was also occasionally adopted, we believe, by Civerchio. The "Vincentio de Brixia," mentioned at Milan in Nov. 1513 with Cesare Cesariano, was probably Vincenzo Foppa il Vecchio. (See *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo III.*, p. 165, and App. III., p. 210.)

vidi esser scritto del mille cinque cento venti sette cioè dipinto al locho che è di sera parte ala Giesa anticha et domandando che aveva dipinto quelle depenture di detto locho me disse che era stato uno M^{ro} Fiorano di et uno M^{ro} Paulo di qual M^{ro} Paulo haveva dipinto da sera parte et lo ditto M^{ro} Fiorano de doman parte.” ¶ Pandolfo unfortunately can only supply the Christian names, but it is an accepted fact that “M^{ro} Fiorano” was Ferramola, and in the light of our present knowledge it seems almost certain that by “M^{ro} Paulo,” Caylina was meant. Paglia, in the “Giardino della Pittura,”¹ speaks of “Paolo Foppa concorrente di Floriano Ferramola,” and it seems far more reasonable to identify this Paolo Foppa with Vincenzo’s nephew Caylina (who, as we saw in the account books, was once designated Paolo de Fophi) than with Paolo Zoppo, who appears rather to have been a miniaturist than a fresco painter. ¶ Writers on art doubtless assumed that Paolo Zoppo must have been the assistant of Ferramola and part author with “Vincenzo Foppa the younger” of a large group of works at Brescia, because they knew of no other painter named Paolo. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, evidently mistrusted the general opinion regarding Paolo Zoppo and “Foppa Giovane.” Speaking of the first-named, they say: . . . “it is possible to assume that Paolo Zoppo has been confounded with Vincenzo Foppa the younger”; yet when they come to treat of the latter they are only able to speak of him in the following indefinite terms: “Yet of the younger Foppa our knowledge is slight and dubious. He is not mentioned in guides or chronicles of any antiquity, nor is there any authentic account of his birth, manhood, or death; he is only described in general terms as related to Vincenzo Foppa the elder, and taught either by him or Ferramola.” (II. 431, 432.) They depended for their in-

¹ There are several MS. copies of the “Giardino” in the Queriniana Library at Brescia, and a part of the work was published in 1713.

formation upon the confused accounts of earlier Brescian writers, whom they evidently found unconvincing; but it is difficult to understand how a writer like Fenaroli, who had every opportunity of consulting the Brescian Archives, should have made the statement which we find in his Dictionary, on p. 312 of the appendix dealing with Brescian artists whose works are unknown:

“Paolo figlio di Bartolomeo, pittore. V. Estimo del 1517 della quadra prima di S. Alessandro.—Forse Paolo Zoppo di cui parliamo nel Dizionario (?)”

It is incomprehensible how he could have referred to the Estimo and then have quoted it in so garbled a form, for the entry, which is perfectly clear, is as follows:

Estimo 1517, fol. 56.
Quadra I^a S^u Alex^{di}

Paulus uondam Barth. Cayline, Pictor.

It is evident that it cannot possibly refer to Paolo Zoppo, and Fenaroli’s omission of Caylina’s name and attempt to identify this “Paolo” with Zoppo, seems a curious perversion of the facts.¹ ¶ The irregular spelling of proper names by 16th and 17th century writers has added considerably to the difficulties of art-historians. In the second edition of Vasari’s “Lives,” Vincenzo Foppa himself figures as “di Zoppa,” and it is probably to him that Paglia referred when he spoke of “Vincenzo Zotto,” though other writers have identified this painter with Paolo Zoppo. The latter, who was more particularly distinguished as a miniaturist, had no connection with Vincenzo Foppa. He is the hero of the well-known story of the crystal bowl,² and though Brescian writers mention certain frescoes and altarpieces as having been painted by him, they all agree that his talent lay more par-

¹ In the index volume to the Estimo of 1517 we have the same entry: Paulus q. Bertholami pictor fol. 56.

² On this bowl Paolo Zoppo, according to the universal testimony of Brescian writers, had painted the sack of Brescia, which took place in 1512; the work occupied him during two years, and was destined as a gift for the Doge Andrea Gritti, but by an untoward accident the bowl was broken, and the painter, overcome with grief at its destruction, died at Dezenzano on the Lake of Garda.

ticularly in the direction of miniature art. Art-historians are not agreed as to the date of his death. Some writers state that he died in 1515 or 1516; others that he was still living in 1530; as Gritti, the Doge for whom the crystal bowl was painted, was only elected in 1523, the first-named date is obviously incorrect, and here once more Zoppo was in all probability confused with Foppa. ¶ Of the baseless fables from which a life of Vincenzo Foppa the younger has been constructed enough has been said, but in future it will be desirable to cancel his name in biographical dictionaries of painters, and to substitute for it that of Paolo Foppa, viz., Caylina, who, it should be added, must not be confounded with an earlier painter of the same name, who was probably his uncle, and may be designated Paolo Caylina the elder. The father of the latter was named Pietro,¹ and the painter, who is spoken of in 1458 as a citizen and inhabitant of Brescia, can be traced there in the Estimi between 1459 and 1475, and was employed by the Brescian Government to execute various paintings. In 1458 he was at Pavia with Vincenzo Foppa, who was probably his brother-in-law, and agreed to paint an altarpiece for a

¹ Possibly identical with Petrus de Caylina, a tailor who, according to the Estimi of 1434 and later, lived in the first quarter of S. Giovanni

church at Mortara, which is now in the The Date
Turin Gallery. ¶ Paolo Caylina the younger of Vincenzo
was, as we saw, the son of Bartolommeo, and Foppa's
was therefore the nephew of Foppa, and most Death
likely also of Caylina the elder. In time he came to be inextricably confused with Paolo Zoppo and with "V. Foppa the younger"; among the heterogeneous collection of paintings at Brescia ascribed variously to the two last-named and to Ferramola some must have been executed by Paolo Caylina, though, as there were a great number of painters living at Brescia in the first half of the 16th century, one or other of them doubtless had a share in these works which are of such varying merit and so great divergency of style. ¶ Documents have done their part in proving that Foppa (assuming that he was born about 1427)¹ attained the ripe age of 89, and in making clear the identity of his nephew and heir Paolo Caylina. It now remains for critics to determine how long his activity as a painter probably lasted, to attempt the identification of the works of his latest period, subsequent to his dismissal by the Brescian Government in 1495, and to define, if possible, the artistic personality of his pupil Caylina.

¹ As Vincenzo Foppa is known to have been a married man with children in 1456, the date of his birth cannot be placed much later than 1427

A NOTE ON FIVE PORTRAITS BY JOHN DOWNMAN, A.R.A.

✎ WRITTEN BY JULIA FRANKAU ✎

HIDDEN away in the dignified retirement of the Print Room of the British Museum are great treasures. Ever-courteous attendants, attuned to the melancholy importance of their office, leisurely, and with infinite precaution, disinter dead tomes from dusky shelves, unfold the swaddling robes, and grant a watched and guarded glimpse of the mummified remains. Who could guess that here in this dingy solitude lurk specimens, not only of black-and-white work, of the prints that give the room its name, but of rare and brilliant essays in colour which, hung before those dim recesses, illuminating the bare walls, would have the effect of sunshine in a shady place, would people the gloom with gay visitants from a vanished century? ¶ John Downman, five of whose drawings I have excavated from their mausoleum, is an artist whose work, slight, personal, peculiar, was ignored for something like sixty years. It was not only in the Print Room of the British Museum that it lurked in obscurity. He had been forgotten. There is no mention of him in catalogue or chronicle of importance from 1824, when a few lines in the *Art Journal* recorded his death, until 1884, when "A portrait of a lady" (unknown) realised £4 17s. 6d. at a sale at Sotheby's. But from this date his name recurs with ever-gathering frequency, his price ascends with never-fluctuating regularity, his scant history is eagerly investigated, *cognoscenti* discuss his merits, even the great American millionaires compete for specimens of his portraiture. One need not stay to question his claims to immortality. Doubtless the exaggerated laudation of to-day is as little justifiable as the oblivion and neglect of yesterday. But that John Downman has a

charm, unique, personal, original, a glance through the following pages will make easily manifest. That it was a talent fully recognized by his contemporaries is proved by the fact that there was scarcely a great Devonshire family of the day that failed to have its various members limned by one who, to a certain extent, came to be considered the local artist. ¶ John Downman was a Devonshire man, and, although, strangely enough, he was a pupil of Benjamin West, the far-famed cream of his native county seems from the first to have tempered his palette and relieved it from the dryness and academic aridity of his master. His subject-pictures in oil and water, whatever their demerits, had all the softness that the American painter lacked. When he was free from his indentures he went to Cambridge, where he developed a talent for portraiture that brought him immediate patronage. On the strength of it he seems to have returned to the metropolis, notwithstanding his preference for a country or provincial life, and it was there that the great bulk of his work was achieved. His two or three years in Plymouth and Exeter (1806-1807) were occupied in executing the commissions he already had, rather than in seeking fresh *clientèle* or inspiration. However, London reclaimed him shortly after his marriage (1807) with the daughter of William Jackson, organist of Exeter Cathedral, a composer of no mean repute, and known also as a versatile writer, a clever landscape painter, a friend of Gainsborough, and a good judge of art. A list of John Downman's portraits would occupy a volume, for he drew most of the celebrities of the day, and all the Devonshire gentry. They are executed in a manner he made definitely his own. By far the greater number are in pencil, on thin vellum or Japanese paper, the sitter posed in profile, and suggested rather than

Mrs. Wells
from the portrait
in water-colour by
John Downman, A.R.A.

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PORTRAIT OF MISS ABBOTT

JOHN DOWNMAN, A.R.A.



PORTRAIT OF MISS ABBOTT

JOHN DOWNMAN, A.R.A.



Miss Buttel from Devon. 1781. Orig^l Study.
Her mental and personal attractions
made numberless suitors.
I drew four of this.



Miss Bulteel from Devon. 1781. Orig. Study.
Her mental and personal attractions
made numberless suitors.
I drew four of this.



M^{rs} Downman his lady she was first cousin to John Downman



*D^r Downman Physician and Author
at Exeter Devonshire 1796*



Mr Dorman his lady she was first cousin to Lord Fountaine



*D^r Dorman Physician and Author
at Exeter Devonshire by R.D. 1796*



M^{rs} Downman his lady she was first cousin to Lord Courtenay



*D^r Downman Physician and Author
at Exeter Devonshire by D^r 1796*



PORTRAIT BY JOHN DOWNMAN, A.R.A.



PORTRAIT BY JOHN DOWNMAN, A.R.A.

delineated. He finished these pencil drawings with a slight wash of colour, but this colour, instead of being laid on, is at the back; seen through the thinness of the paper the effect is of exceeding delicacy, the carmine blending with the ivory of the paper, and the result being particularly happy. ¶ Those that are in the British Museum were purchased in 1844, in a volume. Nearly all of them have some inscription or pencil note by the artist, describing and commenting on his sitter. Thus of Miss Abbott, whose portrait is among our pictures, the artist chronicles that she was "celebrated for her character, so modest and amiable," and we read under Miss Bulteel's portrait of the numberless suitors drawn by the "mental and personal charms." The "Maitland" collection is similarly decorated. Under a drawing of "Lady Nugent," for instance, one finds the bewildering observation: "she sometimes wore very light hair as well as dark"; whether simultaneously or separately is left to the imagination of the reader. On "Old Mr. Woolcombe, of Plymouth, 1806," we find: "when the picture was sent home it made one daughter laugh and another cry"; a curious side-light on the domestic relations of Mr. Woolcombe's family! "The Revd. Dr. Grant, of London Street, Fitzroy Square," was "a literary character of note; he had lost one eye, for which I have heard him abuse John Hunter"; the racy appositeness of the reverend gentleman's displeasure misses something of point, as the profile sketch disguises his loss. "Mrs. Smith, of West Maling, Kent, 1805": "early a widow with a family, which she well managed." "Miss Mordaunt": "her reverend father said no one could take her portrait, but was delighted to confess himself mistaken." "The Revd. Mr. Hill, aged 94": "he went nine miles to see an antiquity, and set off at a gallop." ¶ With all these comments,—and it is rare to see a sketch by John Downman without some such remark,—it is singular to find he has nothing to say of one who was, perhaps, the most interesting of

his models. Mrs. Wells, the subject of A Note on the drawing reproduced in photogravure, Five Portraits of her day. She was the heroine of Downman, the fire story related by Mrs. Inchbald in A.R.A. connection with the Haymarket Theatre. There a galaxy of female beauty and frailty was contesting the suffrages of the town, whilst the details of their private adventures entertained society and the press. A lady who was distinguished by the frankness of her amours, driven by the smoke from her own dressing-room, sought refuge in Miss Farren's; Miss Farren withdrew in modest haste, exclaiming, "Oh! la! you must not come in here. What would Lord Derby say to find me in such company!" In her startled dignity Miss Farren asked the protection of Mrs. Wells, who repelled her with equal decorum. "Oh! my dear Miss Farren, I must beg of you to retire: Major Topham is so particular about my associates." Major Edward Topham had been captivated by Mrs. Wells, on her appearance as Cowslip, in O'Keefe's farce "Cowslip and Lingo." When she exclaimed that she "preferred a roast duck to all the birds of the heathen mythology," he found her irresistible, started a paper in which to sing her praises, fought two duels in order to establish her reputation, or his own, and covered them both with notoriety. ¶ John Downman makes no comment on this sitter, whom, nevertheless, he drew more than once. The charming example in the Museum shows her in her favourite character. I think it is in itself sufficient to tempt the reader to the rigours of the Print Room. But there is more entertainment in the Downman portfolio; here is the artist's uncle, "physician and author," whose fame rests only on the record of his pious nephew; his wife, who gilded the obscure family roll by her connection with "Lord Courtenay"; the lady unnamed with the double chin and the music book; and a small gallery of obscure celebrities who serve to exemplify at once an art, a period, and an error.

NEW ACQUISITIONS AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS

THE PRINT ROOM OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM



SOME Italian drawings of exceptional interest and rarity were added to the British Museum collection during the summer of 1902. These include an "Ariadne in Naxos," by Piero di Cosimo, a brush drawing curiously pieced out with additional figures on separate scraps of paper; a study of the head and drapery of a reading saint, in oil colours on paper, by Vincenzo Catena; a "Lamentation for Christ," in green monochrome, by Foppa or Bramantino; the well-known study of a man's head, in black chalk, by Bartolommeo Montagna, from the Habich and Carmichael collections; and a remarkable study for a man's portrait by Andrea Solario, which may be compared with his masterly work in oils at the National Gallery. Some good specimens of later Italian masters, Salvator Rosa, Passeri, and Carlo Maratti—by the last, a portrait of himself—may be recognized by their curious ornamental borders, in the taste of the late seventeenth century, as having belonged to Sir Andrew Fountaine. One of Guardi's spirited Venetian sketches, and a design for the reverse of a medal (1738) by one of the Hamerani family, represent eighteenth-century art. ¶ The only new drawing of the Dutch school is the splendid Rembrandt, of which we give an illustration; a study from life, in sepia wash, of a recumbent model, resting on cushions to enable him to keep the pose. Rembrandt has placed him, surely not by accident, but for some purpose unknown to us, in the attitude of an effigy on a tomb. ¶ The English drawings include a beautiful pastel portrait by Sir Peter Lely, Sir Joshua's portrait, also in pastel, of his great-niece Theophila Gwatkin as a study for the picture of "Lesbia," and Gainsborough's sketch for the Windsor picture

of "The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland walking in the Mall," the finest of the Gainsborough drawings in the Robinson collection, lately dispersed at Christie's. A landscape sketch by the same artist and one of Patrick Nasmyth's, "Leith Hill from the Weald," in water colours, may also be mentioned. An interesting volume recently purchased contained 36 portrait drawings by the elder Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745), annotated by the artist's son and by Horace Walpole, who bought the set in 1772 at the sale of the younger Richardson's collection. The best of them are sketches in chalk on blue paper, including portraits of Frederick, Prince of Wales, Martin Folkes, P.R.S., Dr. Mead, Thomas Gordon, translator of Tacitus, and several of the two Richardsons themselves, father and son. On one of the portraits of the father the son has written "tranquilla senectus"; on another, dated June 24, 1728, "Ubi se a volgo & scenâ in secreta remorat." An amusing note is that on the pencil portrait on vellum of Alexander Pope. The elder Richardson wrote under the likeness—

"Your friend but gives the Bay you had before,
Friendship would fain, but Friendship can no more.
31 Jan. 1733/4."

Pope altered "but," in the second line, to "ev'n." The artist's son wrote on the back, in a very different hand, "The verses are my father's. Mr. Pope made the little alteration: perhaps they were better before.—J. R. junr." If the truth must be told, they were past mending. These well-authenticated drawings by the father are of additional value inasmuch as they confirm the view taken by Mr. Binyon, in his catalogue of the English Drawings in the Print Room, that the drawings already in the Museum, many of which used to be ascribed to Jonathan Richardson the younger, are almost without exception by the elder artist. ¶ The chief event of the year, however, as



HOWARD & JONES, LONDON.

REMBRANDT STUDY OF A RECUMBENT MODEL

BRITISH MUSEUM

HOWARD & JONES LONDON.



REMBRANDT STUDY OF A RECU MBENT MODEL

BRITISH MUSEUM

regards original English work, is the purchase of a great part of Mr. James Reeve's unrivalled collection of drawings and etchings by Norfolk artists. Some regret may be felt, at least by East Anglians, that the collection, as a whole, has not found a permanent home in the county, which possesses the nucleus of a fine collection of local art in the oil paintings bequeathed by Mr. Colman to the Castle Museum at Norwich. There is no doubt, however, that the drawings will be more generally appreciated in London. Crome's drawings are rare, but the collection includes three water colours and eight sketches in pencil or Indian ink, while it adds sixteen rarities to the large series of his etchings already in the Museum. By John Sell Cotman there are thirty water colours, including the wonderful "Greta Bridge," and three hundred drawings in monochrome wash, chalk and pencil. Every style and period of his work is splendidly illustrated. His sons, Miles Edmund and John Joseph Cotman, are also well represented, and there are drawings by Bright, Bulwer, Daniell, Leman, Lound, Ninham, Stannard, Thirtle, and Vincent. The drawings, in all, amount to nearly five hundred, the etchings and lithographs to eight hundred. The names of the etchers include most of those already mentioned, and, in addition, Robert Blake, Cecilia Brightwell, F. J. Crome, Richard and Edmund Girling, S. V. Hunt, W. H. Hunt, Alfred Priest, Mrs. Dawson Turner and her kinsfolk the Hookers and Palgraves, and others too numerous to mention. ¶ Another important collection has been added to the Print Room during 1902 by the bequest of the late Lord Cheylesmore. It consists of two parts: In the first place, mezzotint portraits, to the number of about 7,650, by 284 English and 70 foreign engravers; in the second place, portraits of the English Royal Family, largely of recent date, to the number of 2,675. It is estimated that about one-sixth of the mezzotints are of fine quality, including a considerable num-

ber of first-rate importance. The whole New Acquisition will be arranged, by the testator's desire, under the names of the engravers, but the finest impressions will be selected for special mounting, on the system already applied to the Museum collection. An exhibition of the best prints will be arranged as soon as the necessary work can be completed. ¶ Among other engravings recently acquired is one of paramount interest, a unique example, from the Sternberg-Manderscheid and Alfred Morrison collections, of the Florentine master of the fifteenth century identified by Mr. Colvin with Maso Finiguerra. The print, which has been described by Passavant ("Peintre-Graveur," V. 23, 46), represents a large number of animals in a landscape: hounds in pursuit of boar, stag, and hare, herons assailed by hawks, and in the foreground a lion snarling at a dragon, while another lion, preceded by his family, stalks away in solemn dignity from the impending combat. The treatment of trees and water and many other details betrays the hand of the illustrator of the famous "Picture Chronicle," and no more interesting addition could have been made to the matchless collection of Florentine engravings already in the Museum. ¶ A gap in the series of Dürer woodcuts has been filled by the purchase of a complete set of the copies of the "Apocalypse," published by Hieronymus Greff at Strassburg in 1502, and now rarer than the original cuts. Each of the fifteen copies bears a monogram which has often been read as MF or IMF, though it undoubtedly stands for IVF and is to be interpreted as "Jheronimus von Frankfurt," an abbreviation of the copyist's full title, "Jheronimus Greff Maler von Franckfurt," as it appears in the colophon. While thirteen of the cuts have the usual German text on the back, one is from a Latin edition, unknown to bibliographers, of which a single leaf was already in the Print Room. Greff must have printed two editions of his copies, with German and Latin text, in emulation of the twofold edition of the

The Burlington Magazine originals published at Nuremberg in 1498. The back of the fifteenth leaf is blank in all editions. ¶ Señor Rogelio de Egusquiza, a Spanish artist resident in Paris, who had already given a number of his etchings in many states to the British Museum, has lately presented a series of proofs of the portraits of two famous Spaniards, Calderon and Goya. ¶ The last European acquisition to be mentioned is that of a group of etchings, 37 in number, by Henri Guérard (1846-1897). "Etchings" in this case is a generic term, not to be taken in the strict sense, for most of these prints are the result of a combination of processes—aquatint, mezzotint, dry point, roulette—by which Guérard, always in search of new refinements of technique, new subtleties in printing, supplemented the work of the mere etching point and aquafortis. The portrait of himself, which we reproduce, is very largely done with the roulette. The proofs all bear the monogram stamped in carmine or gold, by which Guérard used to certify the best impressions of his plates. There are a few specimens among them of etchings printed in colours, by a process now popular in France, of which Guérard was one of the pioneers. One of these, "Dans les Blés," is represented by seven proofs, printed first in three separate colours, then in two of these colours taken together, and lastly in a combination of the three plates. ¶ A few important additions have been made during the past year to the large collection of Japanese paintings in the Print Room. A pair of kakemonos by Shō-haku fill a gap in the collection, which hitherto has had nothing to represent the Soga school, founded by this master. Though little known in Europe—he is not even mentioned by Anderson—Shō-haku is highly esteemed in Japan. Living in the eighteenth century, he reverted to the great fifteenth-century masters for inspiration, and proclaimed himself a reincarnation of Soga Jasoku. In his attitude and in his career he has no little resemblance to William Blake. Both were poor and

isolated; both were regarded as madmen; and Blake's derision of Reynolds finds its parallel in Shō-haku's scorn for the naturalism of his famous contemporary Okio. The "Four Sages," painted in monochrome, which the Museum has acquired, forms an excellent example of the artist's style. ¶ The delicate and vivacious brush of Hō-yen, one of the best masters of the Shijō school, is already admirably represented in the Print Room; but the three newly-purchased drawings (originally forming one makimono) illustrate him in a rare and unusual manner. They are studies of animals—tigers, lions, leopards, deer, wolves, horses, a white elephant, a fox, etc.—and doubtless painted from life, except possibly in the case of lion and elephant. A fine drawing of similar size and character, studies of hawks and eagles on pine-branches, by Gan-tai, has also been acquired; and a small kakemono by Yei-shi. This last portrays a humorous fancy, two girls climbing a ladder to shave the mountain-like head of Fukurokujiū for the New Year Festival; and though a little retouched, it is a charming specimen of Yeishi's art. ¶ Hitherto, Japanese colour-printing has only been represented by the collections of illustrated books kept in the Oriental Department. During the last year a small representative series of coloured wood-cuts, historically arranged, was purchased for the Print Room, as the nucleus for an adequate collection, which it is hoped may be formed in the future.

THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

One of the most interesting of the recent acquisitions of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, is a fine screen of carved wood which has just been placed temporarily in the corridor leading from the Exhibition Road entrance. It has had a curious history, having been first made for a Dutch church, and then brought over to this country for use in the parish church of a Dorsetshire village, for which, however, it was





HENRI GUÉRARD PORTRAIT BY THE ARTIST

BRITISH MUSEUM



HENRI GUÉRARD PORTRAIT BY THE ARTIST

BRITISH MUSEUM

found to be unsuitable. It consists of three main panels, flanked on either side by a gate, the upper halves of each portion being filled with elaborate carving of acanthus foliage with floral bosses. The gates have this ornamentation only ; but in the centre of the carved work of each of the three panels is a finely-executed coat of arms with crest and well-designed mantling. On the right the shield bears a heart with two arrows crossed behind it, within a wreath of bay leaves ; the crest is the same without the wreath, and on scrolls below are the name D^oLLANGE, and office, PREDIE-KANT. The centre shield has a naked arm holding three roses, and three roses for a crest. The name is I. D. ROODE, and office, OVDERLINGH (Elder), which is also that of the remaining stall-holder, P. HAERBOE, whose arms are quarterly hares and a fountain, and his crest a hare. None of these bearings can be traced, and they are probably only examples of unauthentic canting heraldry, devised to suit the occasion. Each panel is surmounted by a brass rail, an arch on twisted columns, the outer two each surmounted by a swan, the inner almost undecorated. These were, perhaps, curtain-holders. The work is Dutch, of the seventeenth century ; and, from the purely technical standpoint of the wood carver, is probably one of the best pieces of freehand carving in the Museum. Nothing could be more instructive for a student than a careful examination of the simple and direct

means by which an effect of considerable richness is obtained ; and if the ornament itself is not of the purest style, the practical merits of the piece do more than redeem the deficiency. ¶ The valuable series of small articles of table furniture, spoons, forks, knives, tea-caddy spoons, and the like, given to the Museum by Mr. J. H. FitzHenry, has lately been re-arranged in the metal-work section, and can now be studied with great advantage. The tea-caddy spoons are a particularly interesting set, and so are the knives, which include some excellent types of French cutlery with china handles. ¶ Among new silver work, a "collar of SS," received from Iceland, but certainly not of local make, furnishes an interesting problem for those skilled in such matters. It is finely proportioned, and the links are alternately plain and of rope pattern. A locket-shaped pendant with the initials "T. P., G. Th.," can be disregarded, as it is certainly a quite late addition ; but the chain itself is probably English work of somewhat early date. It has no marks, and all that can be said of it is that it has been much worn. ¶ A new case of pewter has just been arranged, on a hint taken from the old dressers, for the display of a number of plates and dishes. One side is occupied with a remarkable series engraved with scenes after Hogarth, and the other has a miscellaneous collection of English and French specimens. Some very finely-proportioned old pewter measures have also recently been added to the collection.

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GAZETTE DES BEAUX ARTS.—The numbers for January and February contain two articles by Mons. Paul Durrieu, entitled "Les Débuts des Van Eyck," in which he describes a discovery of supreme importance for the history of early Flemish Art. The exhibition at Bruges of Sir Frederick Cook's marvellous picture of the "Three Marys at the Tomb," made known all over Europe what may be considered as the most central and typical work of the greatest painter of the early Flemish School. It was possible at Bruges, where that picture hung near to Jan van Eyck's "Madonna with the Canon van de Paele," to realize the total dissimilarity of temperament of the two brothers, whose work at one time seemed inextricably confused. It is to Mr. James Weale more than anyone else that we owe the discrimination of the work of the Van Eycks into two groups; but although the collocation under Hubert's name of such pictures as the "St. Francis," at Turin, the "Madonna with a Carthusian," at Berlin, and the "Three Marys," recommended itself amply to all who had a perception of the imaginative appeal of a work of art, there was nothing but internal evidence to prove that any of them was painted before 1426, the date of Hubert's death, no documentary evidence to show that Hubert, and not Jan, was the author. This much-desired evidence is to some extent supplied by M. Durrieu's discovery. We are obliged to qualify the statement because the evidence still rests in part on criteria of style, but these are so conclusive as to leave, we think, no possible alternative. M. Durrieu has found that a certain number of miniatures in the Book of Hours of Turin show innumerable and detailed coincidences with the group of pictures already attributed by Mr. Weale to Hubert van Eyck. And by the emblazoning of a flag in one of these miniatures he is able to adduce the strongest reasons for supposing that they were executed for William the Fourth, Count of Holland and Hainault, who died in 1417. We thus get at last a date for the group of pictures which show such striking and peculiar characteristics that they can only emanate from a single hand, and that date is well before the death of Hubert van Eyck. We are thus brought a great step forward towards a certain understanding of Hubert van Eyck's artistic personality. Of what that personality was it is impossible to speak in measured terms, so im-

mensely does he surpass his successors in the art through his unique power of combining the highest imaginative feeling with a penetrating observation of natural appearances. It would be hard to find in the art of succeeding centuries any landscapes which have realized so perfectly at once the fact and its accompanying emotion as the landscape backgrounds of some of these miniatures. M. Durrieu deserves the gratitude of all amateurs for his fascinating study of these incomparable designs, and for the admirable manner in which he has brought out their significance for the history of art. ¶ An article by M. Emile Michel on the pictures and drawings of the Dutuit collection, which is now installed in the Petit Palais, is of interest for its introductory description of M. Dutuit, a type who seems to come out of Balzac rather than real life. But it is difficult to repress the feeling which this and the concluding article on the "Médiæval objets d'Art" of the collection arouse, that the collector was himself a greater curiosity than the collection which he bequeathed to his country. ¶ The January number also contains Mr. Loeser's concluding article on the Beckerath drawings recently acquired by the Berlin Museum. The collection is particularly rich in North Italian drawings, from which Mr. Loeser selects the more remarkable for description. Of these the unique drawing by Borgognone is the most fascinating. Among the Florentines' drawings the noble David of Botticelli is reproduced and ascribed by the author to a period just preceding the artist's visit to Rome. A study of a nude archer attributed to Antonio Pollajuolo is also given on a reduced scale, which, to tell the truth, improves it by concealing certain feeblenesses in the original which make it difficult to suppose it is from so unerring a hand as Antonio Pollajuolo's. Mr. Loeser compares the drawing to the two small panels of Hercules in the Uffizi, and adds "peut-être devons nous y voir une troisième composition de la même série." The composition in question exists. It is the "Hercules and Nessus" of the Jarves Collection, New York, of which a contemporary copy occurs on the Cassone belonging to Sir Frederick Cook now on view at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. ¶ The February number, besides the articles we have already mentioned, contains an account of the atelier of Claus Sluter by Mons. Kleinclausz, in which, by means of extracts from the accounts of the Dukes of

Burgundy, the author presents a vivid picture of the hotel annexed to the ducal buildings where the court sculptor was installed. Incidentally the accounts throw a light on the sombre, unapproachable, Michaelangesque character of the great sculptor himself, who, the moment he was installed, began to alter the building so that he could lock himself up in a gallery remote from all intrusion, and finally, dismissing one assistant after another, found the only resource was to do all the work by himself. ¶ The same number contains an excellent reproduction of the portrait of Isabella d'Este, by Titian, which was once in Charles the First's collection, and was estimated at £50 in the inventory made under the Commonwealth. The picture was then lost sight of and has recently been discovered in a private house in England and acquired by Mons. Léopold Goldschmidt. The picture has, however, long been known by Rubens' copy in the Vienna Gallery, and it is interesting to be able to estimate at last how far Rubens has departed from his original, here, indeed, much less so than was usual with him. The discovery of this magnificent portrait is the most important addition to our understanding of the great Venetian that has been made since Mr. Claude Philipps's great find at Hertford House.

LA RASSEGNA D'ARTE.—The number for February and March contains an illustrated account of the celebrated François vase of the Museo Archeologico at Florence. The vase, signed by Ergotimos and Clizias, is the most sumptuous example of the black-on-red period. A painful sensation was created when in September 1900 one of the custodians in a fit of frenzied spite broke the vase to pieces. The disaster which at first sight appeared irreparable has turned out in the end an advantage, for the vase, which had originally been pieced together clumsily, has been set up again with such skill and judgement by Professor Milani and Signor Zei that it is actually in some respects more complete than before. ¶ Don Guido Cagnola describes some frescoes which have been overlooked by critics in the Church of San Giovenale at Orvieto. An Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi he ascribes, with much plausibility, to Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, and another Annunciation to his contemporary, the little known but sympathetic artist, Andrea Vanni. Both of these frescoes, so far as one can judge from the reproductions, were well worthy of the attention the author has called to them.

¶ Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes writes on the *Bibliography* Pieta by Foppa at Berlin, which she identifies with a picture described by Albuzio in S. Pietro in Gessate, and she adduces reasons for supposing that it was executed in 1496, a date posterior to that usually fixed for Foppa's death. The difficulty is one fully solved by the author for the first time in the present number of the *BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*. ¶ A concluding article on the fresco portraits of the Sforza family by Luini which have recently been acquired for the Museum of the Castello at Milan is illustrated by reproductions of the later portraits, including those of the Emperor Maximilian and Francesco II. Sforza, in whose troubled reign the frescoes were probably executed. ¶ An article by Signor Andrea Moschetti on the little known trecento painter, Giovanni da Bologna, shows his derivation from Lorenzo Veneziano, whose importance in the history of Venetian art has never yet been adequately recognized. ¶ Signor Palmarini continues a somewhat vehement dispute on the interpretation of Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love." He has no difficulty in showing how little basis there is in the text of Valerius Flaccus for Herr Wickhoff's explanation of the picture as Venus inducing Medea to follow Jason.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW for March contains an article of great importance on a current question of national interest, the proposed scheme for completing Alfred Stevens's monument to the Duke of Wellington. What the author, Mr. MacColl, has done is invaluable for a real understanding of Stevens's intention, and that is already a great step towards its realization. He has traced the design from its inception in a hitherto unpublished sanguine sketch, by way of the small sketch model at South Kensington to the life-size model which he has put together again for the first time since Mr. Stannus, to preserve his master's masterpiece, sawed off the head to keep in safer custody than the rest of the model shared. At each step we notice a gradual change in the idea from the spirited gestures and alert pose of the first sketch with its uplifted head and eager advance to the slow and pensive movement of the final model, with the head bent and the hands moving almost vaguely and unconsciously as though the mind were abstracted in reverie. The change is all for the better for the added sense of reposeful ease. It results too in a more subtle, less rhetorical rendering of the Duke's character, an intention which becomes

very evident when one studies in detail the head with its almost tender sensitiveness. It is greatly to be hoped that the plaster cast of the complete model, of which Mr. MacColl gives several illustrations, will before long be placed in the intended position on the actual monument. It will then be possible for the first time to say whether or no the addition of a finished statue will add to the dignity of the tomb. So far as one can judge from seeing the model at close quarters it is likely to reduce the whole to that final harmony of proportions which Stevens himself expected to attain. ¶ The same number that thus advocates a tardy recognition of Stevens's desires by reverent restoration and completion of his great idea contains an appeal, which we hope may be successful, against

a threatened affront to a still greater English artist, against the imminent destruction of Wren's beautiful Church of Allhallows, Lombard Street. ¶ It contains also an article by Mr. Lethaby on another great monument of British art, Exeter Cathedral. It has always seemed to us astonishing that the sculptures on the West Front are so little known to lovers of art, belonging as they do to a period when great figure-sculpture was by no means so common as in the preceding century. They approach in feeling more nearly to the great dramatic sculptures of the contemporary Burgundian school than anything else we can recall in England. The man who wrought the kings in the lowest tier of niches was the Claus Sluter and Donatello of England.

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GARDENS OLD AND NEW.—This is the second volume of the series of articles reprinted from *Country Life*. It is pleasantly written, and extremely well printed; the pictures are examples of half-tone illustration carried to the furthest limit of excellence.



Federigo Gonzaga, 1510-1540

*Portrait of Federigo Gonzaga by Francesco Raibolini (Francia)
From the collection of Mr. A. W. Leatham.*

EDITORIAL ARTICLE



CRITICISM, though not always agreeable, is always wholesome when it is well-informed and judicial, and he is wise who tries to profit by it however distasteful the attempt. In this spirit we awaited the criticism of our first number; we had had a perfectly clear conception of our aims, and it will be admitted that our statement of them was not wanting in frankness; we had done our best to embody them in concrete form; to what extent these aims would be appreciated, and how their concrete expression would be received we could not tell. We can now record a reception far more encouraging than we had dared to hope, a reception which leads us to believe that pessimists were wrong, and that there is room in Great Britain for a periodical devoted to the serious study of art. ¶ Indeed we cannot but recognize that press and public have been more kind to us than we can pretend to deserve. We are conscious yet of many shortcomings, of much that has to be done before our ideal is attained, and we find in our own achievement more to criticize than has been found by most of our critics, nor will we allow their generous appreciations to tempt us to the belief that we have reached finality. But we may find encouragement in the understanding of our aims that has been shown in the great majority of published opinions, and in the very general recognition of the need and the place for a periodical with just these aims. What is done already is so good of its kind that an attempt to surpass it in its own sphere would be without justification. Our justification is that we are attempting what is not done already by an English periodical, and this has been almost universally recognized. ¶ Not quite universal, of course, has been the appreciation of which we have spoken. Here and there was shown that curious irritation at scholarship, that

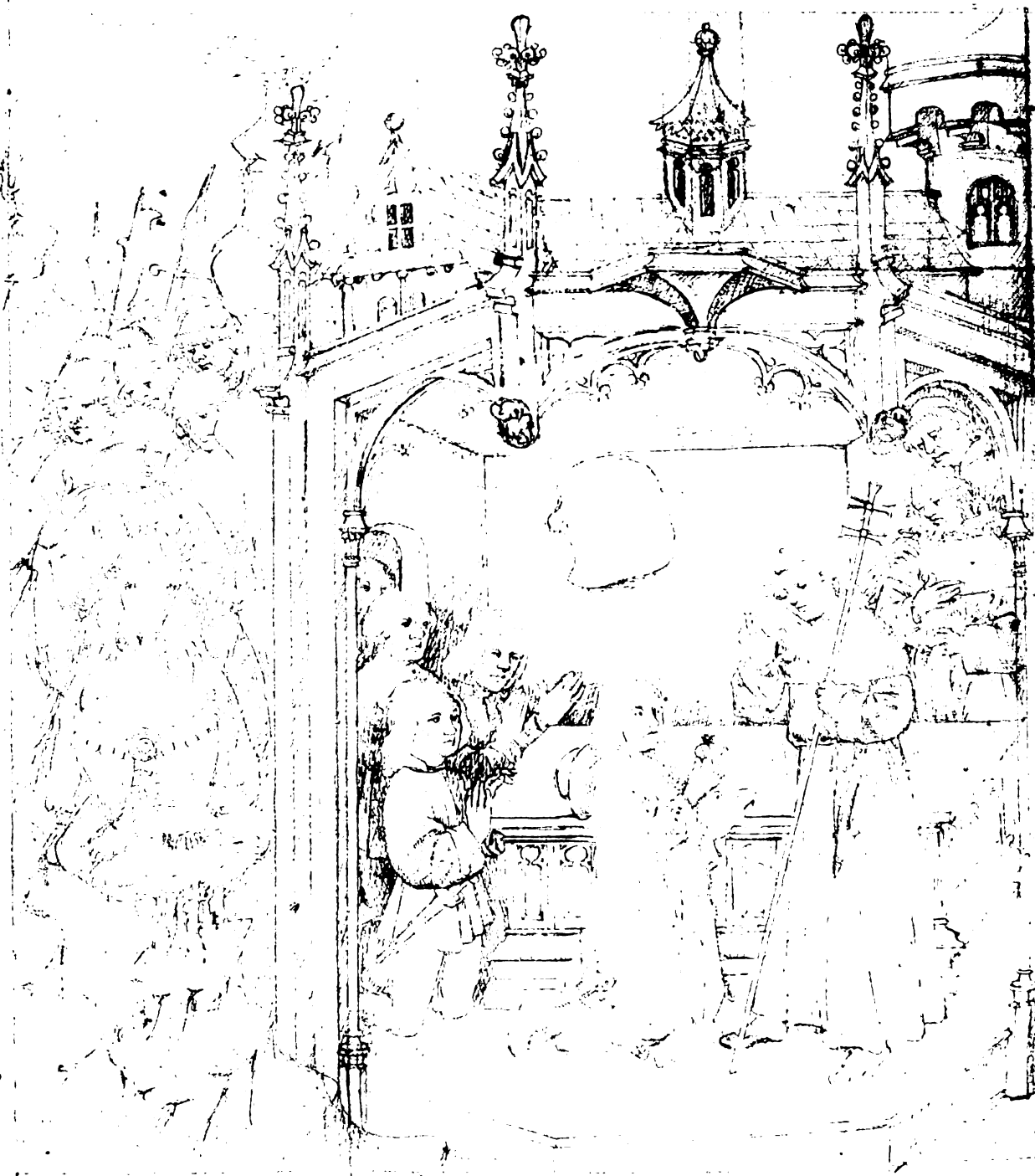
strange intolerance of anything not immediately intelligible to the half-educated, which is perhaps peculiar to this country; but the great rarity of this attitude is in itself a proof of the increase among us of artistic knowledge and appreciation. Such criticism we are unable to meet because there is no common ground on which the meeting can take place. To us the history of artistic development is no mere bagatelle, and with the points of scholarship—minute as they may sometimes seem—which are essential to its elucidation we are and must be greatly concerned. Those who resent the treatment of such points we cannot satisfy. But we would ask them to believe that, even if they do not grasp the arguments by which certain conclusions are arrived at, it cannot be assumed that those conclusions are mere airy guesswork. The trained expert in matters of art is not groping in the dark, and though his attributions may seem to the untrained mind merely arbitrary, they are, in fact, inductions from observed phenomena, no more infallible than other inductions, but no more untrustworthy than the inductions of scientific observers from the phenomena with which they are concerned. ¶ Another criticism which has been made in one or two places comes in a different category; we mean the complaint that, since we are chiefly concerned with ancient art, our scope is narrow. Wide enough, it seems to us, is the scope afforded by a study which includes Praxiteles and Sir Joshua Reynolds. But we would assure those of our friends who have urged this point that we do not underrate the importance of contemporary art, nor, as we have expressly said, do we intend to ignore it. In a sense, it is true, as one writer said, that the art of the present is the most important, but to think that it is of greater intrinsic value than the art of the past seems to us impossible; would that it were otherwise. Moreover, modern art is talked and written about

perhaps too much already with very little practical result. The study of ancient art has a practical end, namely, the improvement of modern art, and is, in our opinion, the only means by which that end can be attained. Nothing has rejoiced us more than the approval given to our remarks last month on this point, not only by the great majority of our critics in the press, but also by many artists who recognize our diagnosis of the condition of modern art as being not an attack on themselves, but the frank statement of a painful truth. What is wrong? What has brought about the state of things which we deplore, the sameness with its natural reaction of self-conscious originality? Surely it is that the chain of orderly development was broken, and it seems impossible to take up the links. We have been suffering for a century from an outbreak of individualism in art, which has gradually destroyed individuality or converted it into eccentricity. Of cleverness we have enough and to spare, but cleverness is not enough; nay, more, genius itself is not enough. Genius, no doubt, arises independently of conditions and environment, but conditions and environment are important factors in determining whether genius has its full effect or not. Our present conditions are such that a genius may become almost a curse instead of a blessing; his influence is often pernicious instead of being healthy; his followers imitate and exaggerate his faults, and his admirers base their admiration not on the merits which make him an artist, but on the eccentricities in spite of which he is one. The deadly cant of anarchism in art has been preached with fatal effect, and has had its inevitable results—sameness on the one hand and wild eccentricity on the other. The cult of the ugly has led by a natural reaction to the cult of the pretty, and between the two beauty falls to the ground, and art with it. ¶ There is no remedy save that of going back to first principles by the study of works of art produced when the progress of art was still an orderly evolution and not a

succession of disconnected jumps. To that study we shall welcome the contributions of all who have anything to say. Our pages will be open to correspondence on the subjects dealt with in the magazine, and we shall welcome opinion of every kind provided it is of real interest and value and is expressed with a due regard to the courtesies of debate. THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE is the organ of no clique or coterie, and we shall close our pages to no qualified writer; but it is our determination to exclude personalities on the one hand and self-advertisement on the other. ¶ A word in conclusion on another subject. It will be seen that we begin this month a series of illustrations of various fine works of art with descriptive notes. Some of these belong to private collectors, others are in the possession of dealers of repute. We make no apology for including the latter; some of the finest works of art that find their way to London pass through the hands of the great dealers, often on their way to America, or Berlin, or Amsterdam. As the National Collections now buy very little, since the English Government will find no money for artistic purposes, lovers of art have had for the most part no opportunity of becoming acquainted with works of great interest and importance which pass through London, and we owe it to the courtesy of those through whose hands they pass that we are now able to give such an opportunity. Those who write on such works of art do not always pretend to know all about them, and will not always have the time and opportunity to find out. In the case of pictures particularly it will not be always possible to attempt attributions, and they will be introduced in many cases merely for the sake of discussion and further research. Not the least of the aims that the founders of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE have set before them is that of providing an arena for the discussion of artistic problems and a medium for the publication of the results of research. It is our earnest hope that it will so be used.

For shewes how he offered in Thelm at our lordes sepulchre / and his armes
were set up on the north side of the temple and there they remayned many
yeeres after / as pilgrymes that long after come thence reported

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THE PAGEANTS OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, COMMONLY CALLED THE WARWICK MS.

✿ WRITTEN BY SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B. ✿

THE Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, contained in the series of drawings which form part of the Cottonian MS., Julius E. iv., in the British Museum,

has long been known, and has been made use of for the purpose of illustrating English life and history in various works, from the time when Strutt first engraved the series in his *Horda Angel-cynnan, or Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc., of the Inhabitants of England*, in 1775. But the artistic merit of the drawings has never yet received justice. Strutt's copies, while fairly accurate in details, make no pretence to artistic reproduction; and those who have put the drawings under contribution for the purpose of illustrating historical works, have had no need to do more than adapt them to their requirements. ¶ There are in all twenty-eight leaves of vellum, of small quarto size, measuring about 11 inches by 8 inches; twenty-six of them have each a picture on both front and back, and the twenty-seventh has the last drawing of the series on its front, while on its back and on the recto side of the last leaf is a genealogical scheme of Beauchamp's immediate descendants. But this series of fifty-three drawings by no means presents the full life of the famous warrior, nor do they profess to do so. They are "pageants," to give the title applied to them in the MS. itself, illustrating only certain episodes in his career. Nor is it necessary for us to fill out the biography and to offer a complete history, or even to check statements and correct inaccuracies in the text. Let us rather enjoy the volume as a "picture book," and accept the story of the deeds of valour and adventure of the hero,

with a benevolent faith in its veracity, and, turning over the leaves, let us follow the series of "pageants" as they pass before us. ¶ The first "sheweth the birth of the famous knyght Richard Beauchamp, Erle of Warewik, which was borne in the maner of Salwarpe, in the Counte of Worcestre, the xxviiij day of the moneth of Januare, the yere of the Incarnacion of our Lorde Jesu Criste M.ccc.lxxxj. ; whoes notable actes of chevalry and knyghtly demenaunce been also shewed in the pagentis hereafter ensuyng." He is "baptised, havynge to his godfadres Kyng Richard the Secund and seynt Rychard Scrope"; and then, grown to manhood, he received knighthood, "to the whiche ordre, in processe of tyme, by his noble actes he did greet honour and worship." Joan of Navarre, "newe wedded wif to Henry the iiijth," is crowned "Quene of this noble reame," and at the ceremony "Erle Richard kepte justes for the Quenes past ageynst alle other comers." ¶ His first service in war is in the "warre of Wales by oone Owen of Glendour," portended by a "blasynge sterre called *stella comata*, which after the seiying of clerkys signified greet deth and blodeshede"; and next, "att the batelle of Shrewesbury betwen kyng Henry the iiijth and sir Henry Percy, Erle Richard, there beyng on the kynges party, ful notably behaved hym self, to his greet lawde and worship." His reward was the Garter, "at that tyme to his greet worship, and after by marcialle actes he did greet honour and worship to the noble ordre." ¶ But now, laying aside his arms, and with "good provision made of Englysshe clothe and other thynges necessary," he "sailed towards the holy londe and specially to the holy Cite of Jerusalem," in a noble ship displaying his armorial bearings and badges on sail and pennon. Visiting

on his way "his noble and nere cosyn the Duc of Barre," he "rode with hym ageyn the Whitsontide to the cite of Parys, the kyng of Fraunce there then beyng present in greet roialte," who received and "made Erle Richard to sitte at his table, where he manerly behaved hym self in langage and norture." ¶ Leaving France and entering Lombardy, he is met by a challenge "from sir Pandolf Malatete or Malet, to do certeyne poyntes of armes with hym at Verone, at a certeyn day assigned for the ordre of the Garter. To the which chalenge, to be doone before sir Galeot of Mantua, Erle Richard gladly agreed; and after he had doone his pilgremage at Rome he returned to Verone, where he and his challenger shulde first just, then go togedres with axes, after with armyng swerdes, and last with sharpe daggers." Happily the combatants did not get beyond the axes, sir Pandolf being "sore wounded on the lifte shuldre." ¶ Thence to Venice, where he was "inned at Seynt Georges and was right worshipfully resceived of the duc and lordes"; and at last he arrives at Jerusalem, and is "worthely resceived by the Patriarkes depute and licenced to commune in deu fourme with the hethen people." ¶ Here we come to he first of the pageants which have been reproduced for this article, and we give the text in full: "Here shewes howe he offered in Jhrlm (Jerusalem) at our Lordes sepulcre, and his armes were set up on the north side of the Temple, and there they remayned many yeres after, as pilgrymes that longe after come thens reported." ¶ Then follows exchange of courtesies with "sir Baltirdam, a noble lorde, the Soldans lieutenant, that tyme being in Jerusalem," who, hearing that he was there, "and that he was lynally of blode descended of noble sir Gy of Warrewik, whoes lif they hadde there in bokes of their langage, he was joyful of hym and with greet honoure resceived hym and desired hym and his mayny to dyne with him. . . . and in secrete wise tolde hym that in his hert, thowe he durst nat utter his

concept, yet he feithfully beleved as we do, rehersyng by ordre the articles of our feith." ¶ The "Erle Richard came ageyne to Venus" and thence "toke his wey to Russy, Lettowe, Poleyn, and Spruse, Westvale and other coostes of Almayne toward Englund by such coostes as his auncestry hadde labored in, and specially Erle Thomas his graunt-fadre, that in warre hadde taken the kynges sone of Lettowe and brought hym into Englund and cristened hym. And in this jurney Erle Richard gate hym greet worship at many turnamentes and other faites of werre." ¶ Warwick returned to England in 1410; but the next pageant takes us on to the year 1414 and the Lollard rising under Sir John Oldcastle. "Henry the vth then beyng kyng of Englund was secretely enfourmed of a prevey and sodeyn insurreccione of traiterous heretikes, which sodenly by nyght purposed to have taken and kept the kyng undre their rule and subjeccione, and after by his auctorite to have destroyed the Church of Englund and to slee the prelates and distribute their possessions;" therefore the King "opened this matier to the lordes or the Counseil," and Earl Richard "dressed hymself in to his harneys and ful coragiously avaunsed hym self to the subdewyng of the said traitours and heretikes." ¶ Next we see him on his way to Calais, to take up his appointment as Captain of the place; and hearing that a certain "greet gaderyng in Fraunce" was not appointed to come to Calais, "he cast in his mynde to do some newe poynt of chevalry," which resulted in challenges taken up by three French knights and three passages of arms, in each of which it is hardly necessary to say that the Earl was the victor, "in a lawnde called the parke hedge of Gynes." ¶ The next drawing "shewes howe kyng Henry the vth made Erle Richard and Robert Halam, bisshop of Salisbury, with other worshipful persones, his ambassiatours to the general counseil of Constance," where "the Pope and the clergy, the Emperour Sygismond and the temporalte honourably and honestly did resceive

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 Holbe Erie Richard in the name of France took Deufront, and entered first into Calne but
 masuochie as he was there wth e bndes lord Thomas Duc of Clarence the kyngs next
 brother. he sette on the walle the kyngs Armys and the Dukes and made crys a Clarence
 a Clarence And then entered the Duke and gave the Erie many great thanks After
 the Erie beseged Cabbek on the walle of Eryn and they appoynted to stonde vnder the
 fauour of Rouen And then brought he by vessels by water to Rouen And then by his
 policy. w^{as} it beseged both by land & water After he was
 mount scyt myght & many othe stronge folowes And the
 kyng made hym Erie of Armurle.



SIEGE OF ROUEN

them." And then follows a tournament wherein Warwick slew "a myghty duke" who had challenged him, and where the Empress "toke the Erles lyvere, a bere, from a knyghtes shuldre, and for greet love and favour she sette hit on her shuldre." The Emperor, too, made him his sword-bearer, and "proposed to geve hym Seynt Georges hert, Englisshmennes avowry, to bryng into Englonde. But Erle Richard heryng the Emperour sey that he in his owne persone wolde come into Englonde, he by endenture restored hit to hym ageyne, saiyng the delyveryng of hit by his owne persone shulde be more acceptable and norisshyng of more love." Sigismund came to England in 1416, and was made a Knight of the Garter, "and offered up the holy hert hym self, which is worshipfully yet kept at Wyndesore." Both in going and returning Warwick received him at Calais; "and the Emperour said to the kyng that no prince Cristyne, for wisdom, norture, and manhode, hadde suche another knyght as he hadde of therle of Warrewyk, addyng therto that if al curtesye were lost, yet myght hit be founde ageyne in hym. And so ever after by the Emperours auctorite was called the fadre of Curteisye." ¶ A spirited drawing of a fight at sea shows "howe Erle Richard in his comyng into Englonde wanne two greet carykkes in the see;" and then follows the second of our reproductions:—"Howe Erle Richard in the warres of Fraunce toke Denfront and entred first into Cane, but inasmoche as he was there with and undre lorde Thomas, Duc of Clarence, the Kynges next brother, he sette on the walle the Kynges armys and the Dukes, and made crye 'a Clarence, a Clarence.' And then entred the Duke and gave the Erle many greet thanks. After, the Erle beseged Caudbek on the water of Sayne, and they appoynted to stonde undre the fourme of Roone. And then broughte he up vessels by water to Roone; and than by his policy was it beseged both by londe and water. After, he wann Mount Seynt

Mighelle and many other stronge townes. The Pageants And the kyng made hym Erle of Aumarle." of Richard ¶ The long siege of Rouen ended in the Beauchamp, capitulation of the city on January 19, 1419, Earl of Warwick, and then commenced the negotiations which wick, commonly called the Treaty of Troyes in May, 1420. The part which the Warwick took in the preliminaries for peace MS. is illustrated in the next few drawings, beginning with his mission to the King of France, "with a thousand men of armes for the mariage of Dame Kateryne, doughter of the said kyng of Fraunce." But "the Dolphyn of Fraunce leide in the wey five thousand men of armes, with the Erles of Vandone and Lymosyne, and bothe the Frennsh Erles were slayn. And Erle Richard slewe oone of the said Erles with his owne handes." ¶ Two drawings suffice to show how "Kyng Henry the vth was solempnely married to Dame Kateryne," and how "Kyng Henry the vjth was born at Wyndesore on Seynt Nicholas day," 1421; and, passing by in silence the death of Henry the Fifth, the next pageant is the third of our reproductions:—"Here shewes howe, accordyng to the last wille of kyng Henry the vth, Erle Richard, by the auctorite of the hole parleament, was maister to kyng Henry the vjth; and so he contynued til the yong kyng was xvj. yere of age; and then first by his greet labour he was discharged." ¶ The coronation of the young king, first at Westminster and then at Paris, follows in two drawings, in the second of which the text contains matter which has a bearing upon the authorship of the volume, and must therefore be quoted: "Of the which coronacion in Fraunce, and also the said Erle to have the rule of his noble persone unto he were of the age of xvj. yeres, it was the will and ordenaunce of Almyghty God, as our blessed Lady shewed by revelacion unto Dam Emme Rawhtone recluse at Alle Halowes in Northgate Strete of York; and she said that thorowe the Reame of Englonde was no persone, lorde ne other, like to hym in habilitie of grace

and true feithfulnesse to vertuously nor-
isshe and governe his noble persone accord-
yng to his roial astate. Also she put greet
commendacione by the ordenaunce of God
of his greet benefytes in tyme to come of
devout commers to the place of Gye clif
otherwise called Gibclyff, which in processe
of tyme shal growe to a place of greet wor-
ship, oone of the moost named in Englund."

¶ We pass straight on to the year 1436,
when Warwick crossed over to Calais to
protect it from a siege threatened by the
Duke of Burgundy, and we have before us
the fourth drawing which has been selected
for reproduction:—"Here shewes howe
Philip Duc of Burgoyne, beseged Caleys.
And Humfrey Duc of Gloucestre, Richard
Erle of Warrewik, and Humfrey Erle of
Stafford, with a greet multitude, went over
the see and folowed the Duc of Burgoyne, he
ever fleyng before them. And there they
sore noied the contrey with fire and swerde."

¶ The next year, 1437, Warwick was ap-
pointed to the very responsible post of Lieu-
tenant of France and Normandy; and one
of the drawings connected with this period
of his life represents a curious scene "howe
Erle Richard when he with his navy toke
the salt water, in short space rose a grevous
tempest and drofe the shippes into diverse
coostes in so moch that they al fered to be
perisshed. And the noble Erle, forcastyng,
lete bynde hym self and his lady and Henry
his sone and heire, after Duc of Warrewik,
to the mast of the vessel, to thentent that
where ever they were founde they myght
have beene buried to gedres worshipfully
by the knowlege of his cote armour and other
signes uppon hym. But yet God preserved
hem al; and so retourned to Englund and
after to Normandy." . . . "and there as a
lorde roial, the kynges lieutenaunt and go-
vernour, which sounes *Regent* in the Frenche
tonge, so nobly and discretely behadde hym
self that bothe Englissh and Frensh were
gladde of hym, playnly perceivyng by his
gwidyng that God was with hym." ¶ Last
scene of all: "by the sonde of God he fil

seke in the noble cite of Roone and as a
Cristyn knyght departed from the worlde,"
on May 31, 1439, in his fifty-eighth year.
Conveyed to Warwick, his body was "wor-
shiply buried in the College of our Lady
chirche founded by his noble auncestres."

¶ There is no record in the manuscript
either of its date or of its authorship. The
period of the execution of the drawings,
however, can be fixed approximately both
by the character of the costume and also by
the genealogical scheme which follows the
series. This scheme is set out on two pages:
in the first appear the half-length effigies of
Richard Beauchamp and his two wives and
five children arranged on the family tree,
with shields for the insertion of their arms;
and in the second, similarly arranged, are the
effigies of Anne Beauchamp, Warwick's
fourth daughter, and her husband, Richard
Neville, the King-maker, who took through
her the title of Earl of Warwick, followed
by their two daughters (1) Anne, the ill-
fated wife, first of Edward, Prince of Wales,
the son of Henry the Sixth, and secondly, of
Richard the Third, by whom she had a son,
Prince Edward, and (2) Isabel, the wife of
George, Duke of Clarence, and by him the
mother of two children, Edward and Mar-
garet. In none of the shields, except those
of Richard Beauchamp himself and his first
wife, are the arms inserted, a fact which
rather suggests that for some reason the
work had not received its final touches. As
Richard the Third is referred to simply as
having been king without anything to mark
his then present existence, it may be safely
assumed that the drawings were made after
the close of his reign; and the date of their
execution may therefore be very well placed
between the years 1485 and 1490, or pos-
sibly, for reasons which will presently be sug-
gested, a year or two later. The style of the
drawings, the costume, the way of dressing
the hair, etc., very well accord with that
period. ¶ As to the origin of the manu-
script, from the time of the earliest record
after it had entered the Cottonian Library

Here shewes howe according to the last Will of King Henry the 6th Earl Richard
 by the auctorite of the hole parliament was master to King Henry the 7th And
 so he continued til the young King was 21 yere of age And then first by
 his greet labour he was disturbed



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Here shewes howe according to the last Will of King Henry the 6th Richard
by the auctorite of the hole parliament was gyafter to King Henry the 6th And
so he continued til the young King was xij yere of age And then first by
his great labour he was distynghed



(but how and whence we know not), there has been a persistent tradition that its author was John Rous, the Warwickshire antiquary and historiographer of the house of Warwick. Born in 1411, and educated at Oxford, Rous became, about 1445, chaplain or priest of the chantry at Guy's Cliffe, or Gibcliff, near Warwick, which was built by Earl Richard in 1423. There he remained for the rest of his life, and died in a good old age in 1491. He was the author of several works; but for our present purpose we need only refer to two of them, both being an account of the Earls of Warwick, the one in English, the other in Latin. The English version, which is the older, appears to have been completed in the reign of Richard the Third, and is Yorkist in tone. The Latin version, which was written after Richard's death, is decidedly Lancastrian. It is not necessary to pause to consider Rous's standard of political morality in changing sides—he only followed the example of a good many of his superiors. The two versions in question are drawn up in the form of rolls, and contain, besides the text, effigies, pretending to be portraits of the several members and connexions of the families of the Earls of Warwick, with their coats of arms and badges. The English roll belongs to the Duke of Manchester; and it was edited in 1859 by William Courthope, Somerset Herald, with the title of the *Rows Rol*. The Latin roll is in the College of Arms. ¶ Returning to the question of the authorship, we may at once say that there is very little to connect it with Rous, and further, that while we may hesitate to accept him as the author even of the text, we have no hesitation whatever in pronouncing the drawings not to be his handiwork at all. As to the text, it must be obvious to anyone who will peruse the descriptions in the *Rows Rol* and the descriptions of the pageants in the Cottonian Manuscript, that the styles of their composition are quite distinct; that of the former being of an older and more homely cast, such as might be looked for in a man

of the advanced years to which Rous had now attained. But that there is a connexion between the two works is evident from the occurrence in both of them of reference to the recluse or anchoress Emma Rawghton. The passage in which she is cited in the present manuscript has already been given above. The parallel statement in the *Rows Rol* runs as follows:—"He made certen there a fore was uncerten at Gyyclif a chauntre of ij prystis, that God wold send hym eyre male. He did hyt by the styrring of a holy anchoras namyd dam Em Rawghtone, dwellyng at All Halows in the Northe-strete of York; and for hyt to her apperyd Our Lady vij tymes in on yer and seyde that in tyme to cum hyt shuld be a regal collage of the Trinite of a kynges fundacone, and hyt shuld be a gracious place to seke to for any dises or gref, and on of Seynt Gyes eyris shuld bryng hys reliks a geyn to the same place." It is evident that in both instances the writer or writers felt a personal interest in the chantry of Guy's Cliff; and no one would be more likely to feel that interest so strongly as the chantry priest Rous, and no doubt it is on this account that the Cottonian Manuscript has been attributed to him as well as the *Rows Rol*, which is undoubtedly his work. We are, then, disposed to think that the writer of the exploits of Richard Beauchamp is another person; but that he borrowed some of his facts from the family historian. ¶ With regard to the drawings, their attribution to Rous is altogether impossible. His powers as an artist may be gauged by turning to the effigies depicted in the *Rows Rol*, which are the ordinary work of an ordinary book-illustrator of the late fifteenth century—interesting as native productions, but with no claim whatever to rank as artistic drawings. Moreover, our pageants are not at all English in style, but are most palpably the work of an artist trained in the school of the Low Countries. The question why a foreigner should have been employed to illustrate the life of the brave Englishman, Richard

Beauchamp, may be answered by the reply that English pictorial art, properly so called, had no existence at the close of the fifteenth century. The political struggle of the Wars of the Roses, following on the French wars, had effectually stifled the English school which gave promise of such brilliant development early in the century; and Tudor England was fain to draw chiefly on foreign talent to satisfy the requirements of art in many of its branches. The connexion between England and the Low Countries had become closer by the marriage of Margaret of York with Charles the Bold of Burgundy; and it was no doubt due to this influence in no small degree that the Flemish miniaturists and other artists, whose skill was at this period rising to its highest pitch, were employed in the service of English patrons. It we were called on to fix the exact spot where our manuscript first saw the light, we should name Bruges, the great centre of Flemish art at the time, and where we know that a great series of handsomely illustrated MSS. in the Royal collection in the British Museum was executed for Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh. ¶ The early history of the Warwick MS. being altogether a blank, we are driven to the not very profitable field of conjecture to find something to satisfy our curiosity for what purpose and at whose instance this fine series of drawings was produced; and the volume itself affords a slight clue which may help us to the right conclusion. Casting about for the person living towards the end of the fifteenth century who would be most interested in perpetuating the memory of the gallant deeds of Richard Beauchamp, undoubtedly that person is Anne, Countess in her own right of Warwick, the youngest daughter of the Earl and the widow of the King-maker, who had been deprived of her family estates in favour of her two daughters, who had outlived those daughters, who had been restored in 1487 to the Warwick estates (only, however, as it appears, to convey them to the Crown), and who survived to the beginning

of the year 1493. That this lady had a more immediate connexion with the manuscript than other members of her house is, we think, indicated by the place of honour in which she is set in the second page of the pedigree, described above, which is devoted to her and her direct descendants. This is, indeed, not a very broad foundation on which to support the conjecture, and it must be taken for what it is worth; but there is certainly no other person for whom a better claim to be the originator of the drawings can be advanced. Perhaps, too, the condition in which the manuscript is left, unfinished as regards the shields which should have been filled with armorial bearings, may point to the abandonment of the work just at the moment when it was about to receive the finishing touches, on the Countess's death, in 1493. ¶ Assuming then, with some show of plausibility, that the drawings were executed at the behest of Warwick's youngest daughter as a monument of filial piety in the first instance, the next question that presents itself is whether they are to be regarded as works of art sufficient in themselves to do the full honour intended, or whether they were designs only for a larger purpose. We are disposed to take the latter view. Fine as they are, the drawings are sketches rather than finished works; and, following the usual practice of the time, coloured miniatures would rather have been looked for as a completed work. Not, however, that these drawings were ever intended to be painted. If such a course had been in view, the drawings would hardly have occupied both sides of the leaves. We regard the series as designs for some larger work: an illuminated MS., a set of panel paintings, or tapestries, or what not. But, though they may thus have been meant to serve only as a means to a greater end, that does not diminish our admiration for their excellence as drawings. They are not, indeed, all of equal merit. But the power of composition, the vigour of execution, and the refinement and delicacy displayed in the best of

These shewes howe Philip Duc of Burgoyne beseged Calys / And
 humfrey Duc of Gloucestre Richard Erle of Warwick and humfrey
 Erle of Stafford. Wth a greet multitude. Went over the see / and plotted
 the Duc of Burgoyne he was fleeing before them / And there they sore
 moied the founteyn / Wth fire and swerde.



them, place them in a high rank among other productions of their kind and time. ¶ The general plan followed by the artist in the setting of the pageants, as will be observed in three of the four facsimiles which accompany this article, was to draw the picture in a square space marked off by enclosing lines, above which a blank strip was left for the description which was added afterwards; but these limits were not rigidly adhered to, and, if necessary, the picture might encroach without reserve on the text-space above, as appears in the second plate. The artist worked quite independently of the chronicler, sometimes allowing him too much room, sometimes too little. The pencil, or rather, to speak more exactly, the plummet was the implement employed. As has already been said, the execution is not equally good throughout the series; and yet it would be hazardous to affirm that more than one hand was engaged in the designing and in the first sketching-in of the subjects. The inferiority observable in some of the pages seems rather to be attributable to an excess of shading and cross-hatching and to a clumsy strengthening of original outlines. These blemishes may be due to the inferior hand of a pupil assisting the master; for they are contemporary. Quite apart from these original inequalities, one or two of the drawings have suffered injury from the senseless scrawling of some child or particularly foolish and ignorant person. ¶ The first of our four facsimile plates represents two scenes, viz. :—(1) Warwick and his followers arriving at the end of their journey at the door of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the group of horsemen emerging from a valley flanked by conventional rocky hills on the summits of which are clumps of trees; (2) the pilgrims kneeling at the tomb, and Warwick presenting his offering, his shield hanging on the wall. The whole design is very charming, the artistic grouping of the figures, the delicate drawing of the features and other details, and the picturesque arrangement of the architectural

accessories, combine to render the composition one of the most pleasing in the whole series. It should here be observed that we must not look for an actual portrait of Warwick in any of these representations of him. The features of the effigy on his monument are quite different. ¶ The second plate calls for a few words of historical explanation. In the campaign of 1417–1418, after landing in Normandy at the beginning of August, 1417, Henry the Fifth advanced at once to the siege of Caen, which was closely invested by himself on the south-west side, by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, on the north-east, and by Warwick and other leaders on the south. After close siege and bombardment, the place was assaulted on September 4, the main attack being made by Clarence, while that from the south was of less moment. The text therefore gives to Warwick more credit than is his due. His war-cry, “A Clarence! a Clarence!” was probably the distinguishing cry of the day used by all the English troops as they supported the Duke’s main assault. Clarence’s banner, bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, with a label of three points for difference, which is seen in the background of the picture, is most probably intended to mark the position of Caen, from which Warwick’s men are marching round the hill in the middle background and reappearing with his banner displayed (1 and 4, *gules*, a fess between six cross crosslets *or*, for Beauchamp; 2 and 3, chequy *or* and *azure*, a chevron *ermine*, for Newburgh) on the right.¹ It was after the subsequent capture of Falaise and not till April, 1418, that Warwick was detached to reduce the strong castle of Domfront, which only surrendered after a three months’ blockade. Henry had already sat down before Rouen towards the end of July, 1418, to open the memorable siege, when Warwick rejoined him, but only to be despatched to reduce Caudebec lower down the Seine. After resisting for a month,

¹ The artist has failed to complete the tricking of the bearings in both banners.

The Burlington Magazine that place came to terms and agreed to abide by the fate of Rouen, or, as the text has it, "to stonde undre the fourme of Roone." Warwick was then free to return to Rouen to take part in the siege. The English had the command of the river below the city, but the blockade was not complete until they succeeded in bringing their vessels above the place. This they accomplished by dragging them over land from Moulineaux to Orival, two towns which lie close to each other at the two ends of a great bend of the river, the one below, and the other above Rouen. The presence of the ship in the foreground of the picture makes it clear that the siege of Rouen is here represented "beseged both by londe and water." Warwick, who is identified by his coat armour as well as by the flag flying above his tent, is directing the firing of a great breech-loading siege gun, into which the kneeling soldier is about to introduce the "chamber." ¶ In

the historic scene depicted in the third plate, the two figures in the foreground to the left are no doubt intended for John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the young king's uncles, both wearing coronets which mark their ducal rank, while Warwick, as an earl, wears a simple kind of chaplet. The same distinctions of rank are observed in other drawings, as for example in the fourth plate, the Duke of Gloucester there having the same coronet round his helmet. This latter drawing, besides its interest as a most spirited composition, is valuable for the details of the armour and housings. But it will be observed that the draughtsman has blundered in not reversing the arms on the banners of Gloucester and Warwick, the staves being attached to the right and not to the left. The arms on the third banner are those of Stafford; *or*, a chevron *gules*.



"THE LEIGH CUP"

BELONGING TO THE MERCERS' COMPANY

THE EVOLUTION OF FORM AND DECORATION IN ENGLISH SILVER PLATE

✿ WRITTEN BY PERCY MACQUOID, R.I. ✿

PART I

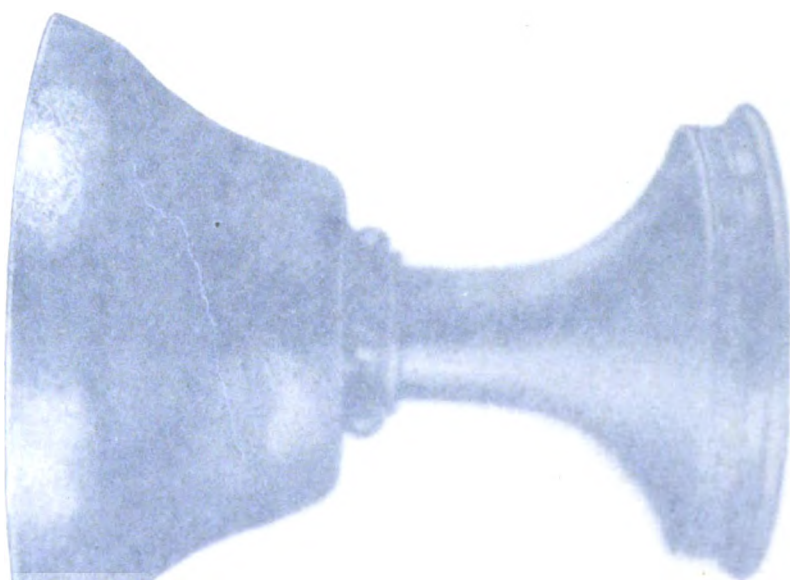
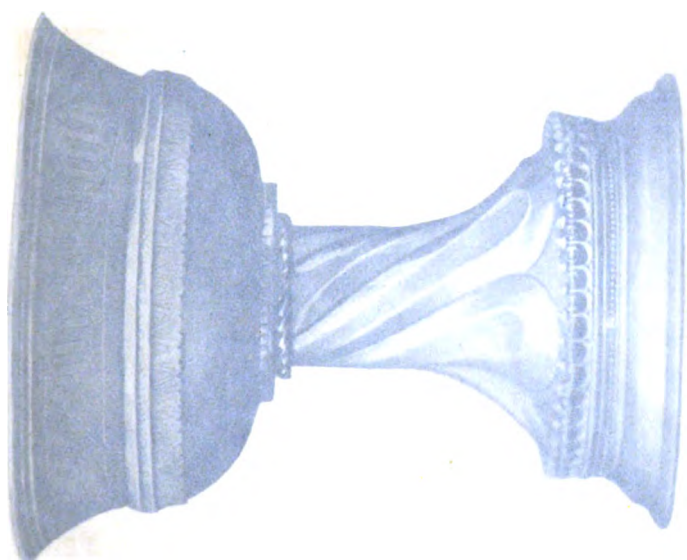
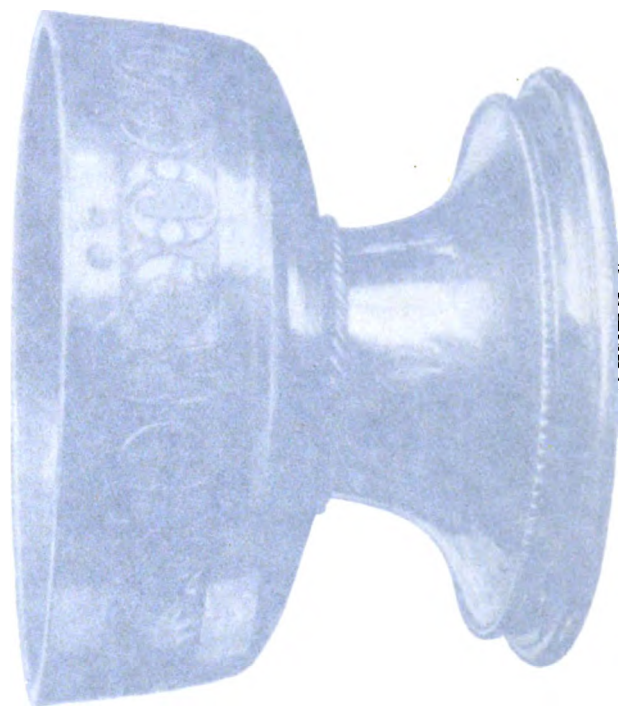
THE interests connected with old silver plate are many and varied, but I propose now only to deal with the subject in reference to the gradual growth and development of form and decoration in the so-called "Domestic Plate" produced in this country during Tudor times and onwards, excluding all that is strictly ecclesiastical, for certain shapes and types of sacred vessels were adhered to for an indefinite period, and they consequently form a distinct branch and subject for study. ¶ The possession of gold and silver plate has always been a mark of wealth and distinction; highly important gifts from one sovereign to another invariably comprised plate in some form. Therefore the spirit of emulation was aroused for the production of the most beautiful and ingenious variety of workmanship, and to fulfil these demands we find records in early times of a very high class of intellect devoting its artistic endeavours to this craft. In order to design plate, as indeed to design anything, it is necessary to be able to draw, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many of the greatest artists abroad were designers of goldsmith's work; unfortunately there were but few in this country, and this without doubt accounts for the fact that so much of our early English plate owes its origin in form to foreign sources, for we had to go to France, Italy, or Germany, for designs in the Tudor-Gothic and Renaissance times, and very frequently also for the finer workmanship; the pieces made here were invariably inspired by pieces made abroad. But later on, as painting and architecture

became individual to this country, we clearly see the development of fresh spontaneous impressions and eventually the separation from foreign ideas, which is strongly marked by both simplicity and solidity. ¶ But few genuine specimens of English Gothic domestic plate are in existence, for the precious metals being of so much value in the Middle Ages, they were constantly melted down for the purpose of financing some war or personal raid for which ready money was required, to say nothing of the frequent desire to create new and fashionable shapes to please the ever-varying taste of the rich men of those times. Out of these existing examples I have endeavoured to select only the clearest types of their period which best illustrate the growth of form and decoration without regard to any individual merit. It must be borne in mind that isolated specimens, and even a reverting back to a previous fashion, in no way affected the onward movement. Naturally in early times the country was a long way behind the greater towns in taking up new ideas, and so patterns continued to be made there, and people even in those days preferred having the articles they were accustomed to use reproduced, instead of patronizing the newest fashion of the moment. ¶ There have been three principal kinds of drinking vessels, exclusive of horns—the bowl, developing into the cup; the tanker or tankard; and the beaker. The earliest form of cup was a bowl of metal or wood, generally the latter, in medieval times called a mazer: these were generally formed out of the pollarded and consequently knotty portions of the maple and other trees, and owing to the hard quality of the wood were almost

imperishable and capable of a high degree of polish. In the fifteenth century these wooden mazers were surrounded—originally, no doubt, to preserve their edges—by a band of silver-gilt an inch or so deep, frequently ornamented with a motto, and on the inside decorated with a small silver gilt disk called a print, engraved and sometimes enamelled with a sacred emblem. A considerable number of these mazers are in existence, preserved chiefly in the Museums and Colleges. Plate I, No. 1, is a mazer belonging to Oriel College, Oxford; it is of the second half of the fifteenth century, the bowl is of maple wood, the silver band round the top is an inch and a half deep, and bears the inscription in Gothic lettering, "VIR. RACIONE BIBAS. NON QUOD PETIT ATRA. VOLUPTAS SIC CARO CASTA DATUR LIS LINGUE SUPPEDITATUR." This is the earliest form of cup for domestic use, and the shape, which is Oriental in origin, was probably brought over by the Crusaders. The mazer being an extremely awkward vessel to handle, it soon struck someone to improve matters by mounting the bowl on to a stem or foot, making it at once more convenient for use. No. 2¹ is a mazer mounted in this manner; it is a very celebrated specimen in the possession of Caius College, Cambridge, called the Cup or Standing Mazer of the Three Kings. No. 3, belonging to Pembroke College, Cambridge, is also a mazer mounted on to a stem; the result is a combination of form which may have inspired the very interesting so-called "Anathema" Cup (No. 4) belonging to the same College. The bowl and stem here begin to blend together in a completed design; the bowl also is becoming bell-shaped and departing from the mazer form; this cup, which bears the very early hall mark of 1481, owes its name to the circumstance that the donor, a Bishop of Winchester, had engraved on its base:

¹ All the Cambridge pieces are by the courtesy of Messrs. Macmillan and Bowes, from their book of *Old Cambridge Plate*.

"QUI ALIENAVERIT ANATHEMA SIT." "Whoever steals this let him be accursed." In the last example (No. 5) of twenty years later, belonging to Sir Samuel Montagu, another development is taking place; the cup has become straitsided with a flattened base, but the feeling is still apparent of a bowl mounted on to a truncated stem; the Gothic cresting so frequently seen in early plate, and shown on the stem of the cup of the "Three Kings," has now disappeared never to be revived as a fashion. Extreme simplicity of the stem in cups up to this period is observable, but in another few years an elaboration of design in the base commences, being first introduced from Italy. Lorenzo the Magnificent was an ardent collector of everything beautiful, and, some of his most treasured possessions being antique Roman bowls cut out of solid agate, lapislazuli, or crystal, some artists of the Renaissance conceived the notion of mounting these on stems with handles of gold or silver, the solid mass of the plain stone being relieved by a fanciful design in the metal, sometimes in enamel, and to render it more perfect in balance even this was often further ornamented with pearls, rubies, and other precious stones. The English goldsmith was quick to appreciate the new idea, and as he had no Roman bowls, we find him at the beginning of the sixteenth century mounting ostrich eggs, cocoa nuts, nautilus shells, ivory, or anything else that came handy. No. 1 on Plate II is a plain cocoa nut cup belonging to Caius College, Cambridge, and is of the end of the fifteenth century. The little lions sejant on which the cup stands are rarely found on English plate, and were adopted from contemporary foreign examples. In No. 2, dated 1576, the cocoa nut is elaborately carved with scriptural subjects, and the stem (which has lost its truncated form), cover, and bands are richly worked in the style of the Renaissance. One realizes what the extreme value of a cocoa nut must have been at that time when it is found



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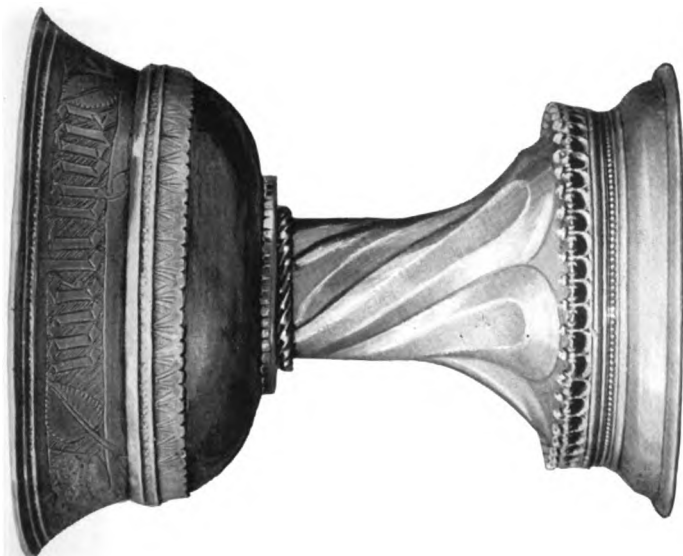
1904

1905

1906



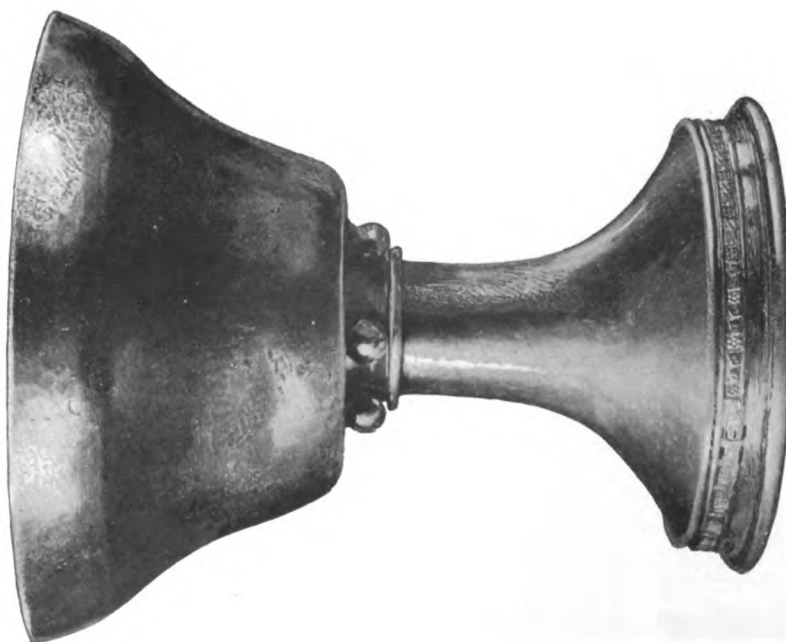
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5

MAZERS AND MAZER CUPS



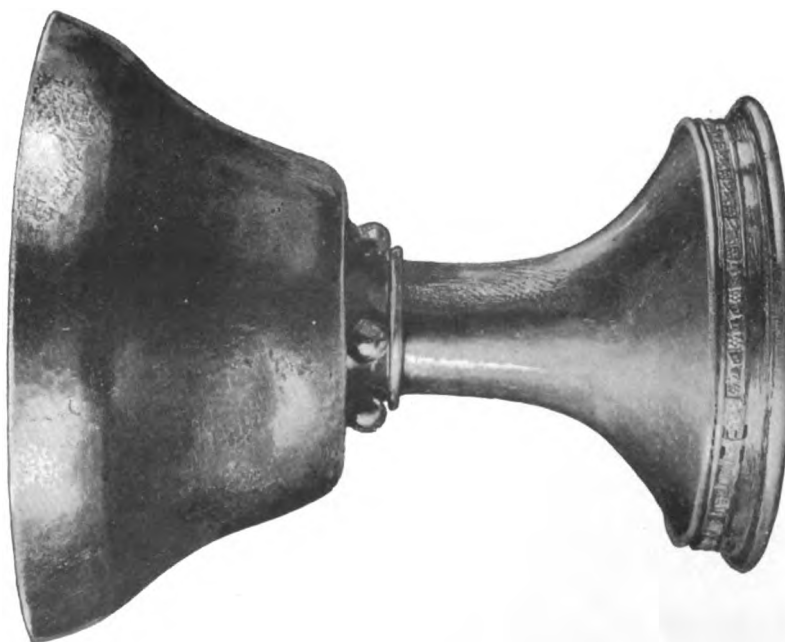
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No. 4



No. 5

MAZERS AND MAZER CUPS



No. 1



No. 3



No. 2



No. 4



No. 5

SHELL AND WINE CUPS



CHALICE OF THE VIRGIN

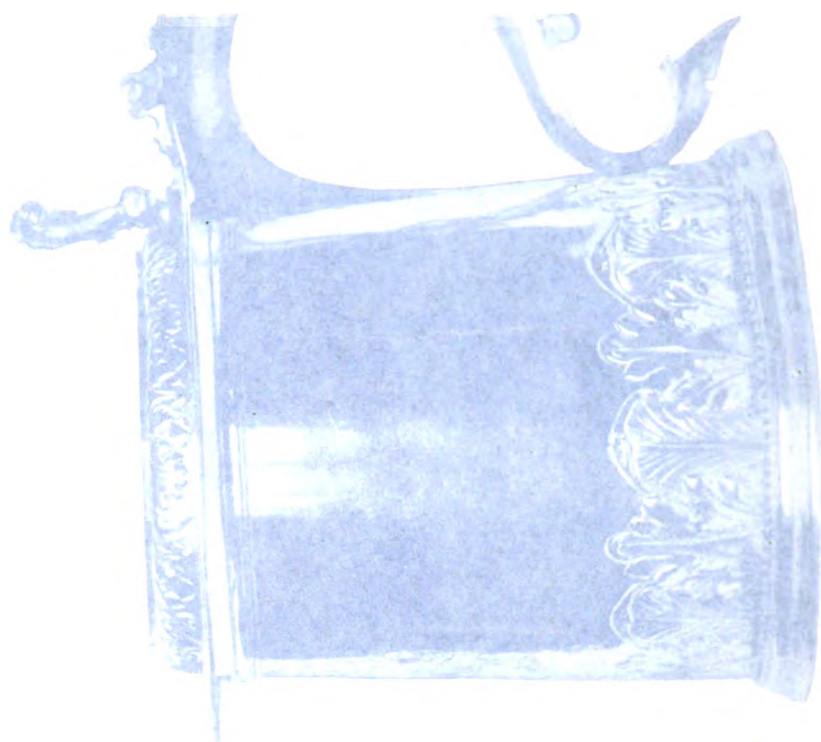
mounted with this carefully designed ornament. In No. 3, an ostrich's egg is mounted to form the bowl, the lid being composed of the upper part of the egg surmounted by a little figure; these small figures were much made abroad and purchased by the English silversmiths as finials for their cups; when an English figure is found it is very distinctive. This cup is of the date 1623 and is in the possession of Sir Samuel Montagu; but such a cup as this of so perishable a nature was probably more for ornament than use. To adapt these stems and forms to a metal bowl was a very natural step, as was reducing the cup to a flat tazza shape, still keeping the baluster stem; these were much the same in character as the raised dishes used for sweetmeats at this period, and were a most graceful form of cup. No. 4 is of the date 1570, No. 5 about thirty years later, and one clearly sees in them the strong influence of the Venetian wineglass that was slowly coming into use, for by the end of the seventeenth century wine-cups as works of art had virtually ceased to exist, glasses and beakers having entirely superseded them.

¶ Tankards came into existence towards the middle of the sixteenth century; in all probability they were an outgrowth from the pewer and stoneware jug. These plain stoneware or salt-glaze jugs were first made in Germany, and like many other things that have come from that country since, were both cheap and ordinary. They were imported over here in large quantities for quite common use, but a fashion arose for mounting them with silver covers, bases, and side straps of highly finished workmanship. That the jugs themselves were considered worthless is evident from a remark in a letter written by the Venetian Ambassador resident at our Court at the time, for he says: "The English have a curious habit of mounting common pottery with silver in the most elaborate manner, and these they are very proud of." No. 1, Plate III, is one of these stoneware mottled jugs mounted with English silver work; No. 2 an early

tankard, and the resemblance is very close; these two tankards or flagons are within a few years of each other, about the middle of the sixteenth century. In spite of the Ambassador's remarks the fashion for these mounted stoneware jugs continued for upwards of fifty years, and they were held in great estimation. The convenience of a hinged cover attached to this form of drinking vessel must have struck the craftsman as a distinct scientific advance, and for the hot spiced drinks so much in vogue at that time it was far more practical than a loose cover. This rounded form of tankard soon gave way to the straightsided; these tankards are slim and graceful in shape, and are usually engraved or repoussé with fine strapwork intersected with mouldings, and frequently little masks or other ornament added in chased-work. No. 3, belonging to Corpus Christi, Cambridge, is an early example of this style, dated 1571. The guilloche decoration on the handle is unusual to find on English tankards, though the foreign handles are invariably ornamental. In No. 4 the strapwork is flatter in design, covering the entire drum, which now begins to have a decided entasis, the base in both cases shows an inclination to spread, and the handles both end in a whistle. In about 1640 all ornament is suddenly dropped and the tankard becomes plain and high with a so-called petticoat shooting out at the bottom which was introduced so that the person drinking could get a steadier hold; the sudden cessation of ornament in plate about 1640 was prompted by the simplicity of life affected by the Protector and Puritans; the tall tankard No. 5 is of this date, and is a good example of this plain style. After the Restoration the width of the drum of the tankard became greater, as seen in No. 6; it was again reduced in height and the petticoat gradually ceased to be; but it remained plain except for pseudo Chinese engraving, flat applied ornament, called by some card-cutting, or the introduction of an acanthus border at the base,

as in the example No. 7. There are many tankards decorated in this fashion belonging to the various City Companies. In the eighteenth century the lid of the tankard became dome-shaped and has remained so to the present day. ¶ Beakers are best described as tumbler-shaped vessels, the shape no doubt originally taking form from the open end of a drinking horn cut so that it could be fitted with an end of wood, horn, or metal; this soon came to be mounted with a decorated base and cover till finally the horn was discarded and the cup was made entirely of metal. At first the base appears to have been quite simple or decorated merely with a narrow string of ornament between the mouldings; in late Gothic and early Tudor times it was raised on to feet in the form of dogs, lions, or human heads. No. 1, Plate IV, is an example of an early type of the middle of the fourteenth century belonging to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and known as the Founder's Cup. The evolution from the horn is distinctly discernible; the cup itself is plain save for a slight enrichment between the mouldings, the crenulated border being part of the cover. No. 2 is a beaker belonging to Christ's College, Cambridge, given by Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII; it is dated 1507, and is embellished with most typical decoration of that period; the holes on the plinth were originally made to hold jewels now missing. Throughout the sixteenth century the beaker is found ornamented with bands of strapwork in low relief, and the base slightly spreading in character is always composed of simple ovolo mouldings. No. 3, now in the possession of Mr. W. Minet, is one of a set that formerly belonged to the Dutch Huguenot Church at Norwich; it is of Norwich make, about 1580, and is a very representative form of domestic beaker of that time; for though it was once church property it must be remembered that certain sects of Protestants would employ only secular shapes for their communion vessels. No. 4, be-

longing to Dr. Morriston Davies, is of the date 1601, and possesses the same characteristics and mode of decoration. No. 5, dated 1679, is the last development of this tall kind of beaker; here the base is smaller and it is embossed all over with the usual large floral design of that period. At this time this particular form of drinking vessel was probably not used by the very rich, as its decoration and workmanship cease to be so well considered or elaborated as in the contemporary wine-cup. In the reign of Charles I a smaller kind such as No. 6 sprang into existence, and were plain except for engraved bands, and later in the next reign the bands are of repoussé work. These were used for wine till the end of the reign of William and Mary. They were evidently a cheap form of gift, corresponding, I presume, to the two-guinea wedding present of to-day, as they are almost always found with the initials in prick-mark letters of donor and recipient together with the date. Small English beakers of this class are very rare, for being too insignificant for decoration, they were melted down when superseded by glass; some have survived by being given or left to the Church for use as communion cups. No. 7, of Norwich make, is similar in design to No. 6, though the engraving is coarser in execution. No. 8, dated 1679, shows the early evidence of the repoussé flowers of Charles II as applied in a band, which till this reign had been confined only to engraved decoration. No. 9 is of William III, 1688, where the form is losing grace and the repoussé is in its decadence; and No. 10, of the end of the same reign, is a final effort in fresh design, and is decorated with the familiar gadrooning of that period. ¶ The large silver standing cups, or hanaps, were intended for decorative purposes, and were used at ceremonial banquets much as they are to-day; these embodied in their form all that has been already described as pertaining to the smaller wine-cups, but they invariably had covers, and so formed a much



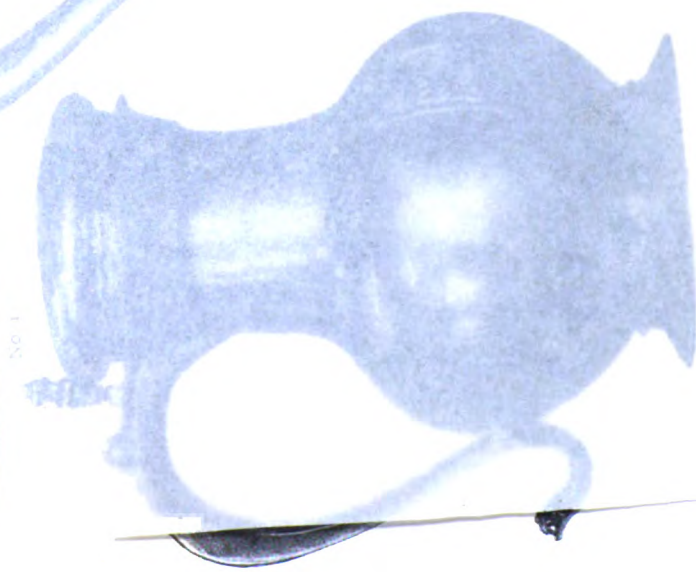
No. 7



No. 1



No. 3



No. 4



No. 6



TANKARDS

No. 7



No. 6



No. 5



No. 4



No. 3



No. 2



No. 1





No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 6



No. 5



No. 8



No. 9



No. 7



No. 10

BEAKERS

more important and complete construction. The "Anathema" cup, although over eight inches high, cannot be classed as a hanap, for it has a movable bowl attached to the stem by a socket and flanges, and there is no record of its ever having had a cover. The possession of these large cups of ceremony was confined to Royalty and the rich nobles, who from time to time made gifts of them to various colleges, and to wealthy citizens, who frequently commemorated their prime-wardenship by the gift of a hanap to the company of which they were members. The earliest English standing cup bearing a hall mark is that illustrated in the frontispiece to this article. It is called the "Leigh Cup," being the gift of Sir Thomas Leigh to the Company of the Mercers, to whom it belongs, and by whose courtesy it is here reproduced; it is dated London, 1499; the base of the bowl is convex, otherwise it resembles the bowl of the "Anathema" cup, which has a flat base. The decoration, consisting of a trellis of corded design, containing alternately maidens' heads and flagons, is repeated on the cover, and it is surmounted by a knop bearing the arms and emblems of the Mercers' Company; the stem is truncated in form, and the beautiful crested and perforated base is supported on three feet in the form of flagons or wine-flasks; the inscriptions and coats of arms are in enamel, and it stands sixteen inches high. ¶ Another almost contemporary hanap is the "Richmond" Cup, Plate V, No. 1, also called after its donor, and belonging to the Armourers' Company. Here the truncated stem, so noticeable in the standing mazers, and seen in the "Leigh" and "Anathema" cups, is found subdivided, and suggests the first evolution of the later baluster shape. The decoration of the cup is carried out entirely in these lobed sub-divisions and a crested band of ornament, but the ball forming the finial is a later restoration, and to some extent destroys its otherwise perfect proportions. This cup has no hall mark, only a maker's mark, but it is undoubtedly of English make. It has a most interesting

prick-mark inscription running round the rim of cup and cover:—"Pra . for . Iohn . Richmond . Ientylman . Cetisn . and . Armerar . of . London . and . Eme . and . Iesabell . his . wyves . " the six initials being intertwined with a knot on one of the lobes. ¶ As the sixteenth century progressed and the influence of Italian and French Renaissance began to be felt in this country, so all angularity and a great deal of originality in the shape of plate disappeared. In the development of the hanap after 1550, the whole construction of the cup partakes of the baluster-like feeling so prevalent in Elizabethan design, and as this gradually becomes more pronounced, it is no longer possible to trace the stem and cup as forms of independent origin; this is clearly shown in the cup No. 2 belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, dated 1569; it stands twenty-one inches high, and is very representative of the foreign influence of the time upon English design. The metal is beginning to lack the sense of solidity conveyed so well by the silversmiths of the former century, and this feeling increases and becomes even more apparent in the so-called steeple cups that were so popular during the reign of James I. No. 3 is a fine example of these belonging to Sir Samuel Montagu; here the stem where it joins the bowl is opened out into three small gryphon-shaped terms, the same forms being repeated on the cover as supports to a perforated spire or steeple, thus introducing the open work and added decoration so prevalent in the plate of foreign countries; the repoussé work still bears the Renaissance influence, but is becoming comparatively poor in execution, and the whole design suggests that the silversmith, rapidly coming to an end of his resources, had taken refuge in building up unconnected form. As this design could apparently be carried no further, an entirely new model supplanted it towards the end of Charles I's reign in the form of a large plain cup on a baluster stem, which was at first devoid of any decoration except

The Evolution of Form and Decoration in English Silver Plate

light engraving or a granulated surface. Later on, this same shape became covered with a confused conglomeration of ornament, as in the well-known "Pepys" cup belonging to the Clothworkers' Company and the "Oak" cup of the Barber Surgeons' Company. The dearth of anything new in the reign of Charles I was probably caused by the small demand for important pieces of plate, all spare money being required either for the King's army or the Parliamentarians, and during the Commonwealth every form of art languished, as it invariably has during the virtuous reformation of a court. With the reign of Charles II all fresh design in the form of the standing cup virtually died out, to reappear eventually in the shape of the porringer, to which I shall refer in the next number. I think I may safely affirm that the decoration of plate reached its zenith in the middle of the sixteenth century; there was a realism of thought at that time, and a straightforward convincing power of strength conveyed by

the masterly touch of artist and craftsman working in unity, that has never been surpassed; the form and decoration had then reached to such an art, that though concentrated on a piece but a few inches high, it was so full of detail, so marvellous in proportion, that the same design could be applied to an object twenty times its size, and nothing be lost. When the influence of Cellini and the goldsmiths' artists of that time began to wear itself out, plate commenced its decadence, for the simple reason that the intellectual power was lacking; the steeple cups of James I, many of which were designed by George Heriot, the King's goldsmith, prove that the best goldsmith of that time was not comparable with those that had gone before, and in the Stuart times, though much was made that is exceedingly beautiful, the lack of true spontaneous artistic feeling became still more evident as the element of quantity, not quality, began to supplant all individual interest.

(To be concluded.)





No. 1



No. 2

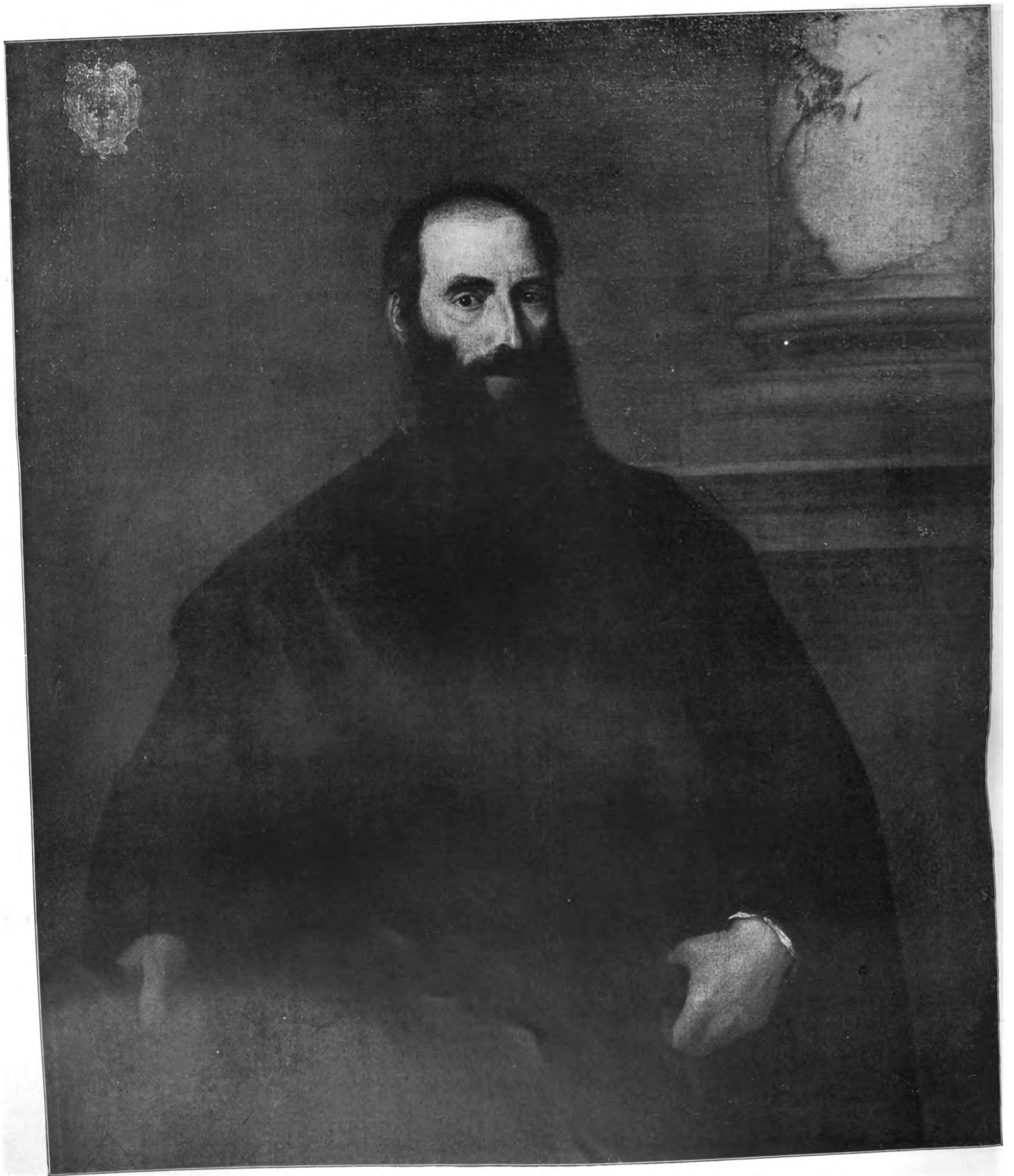


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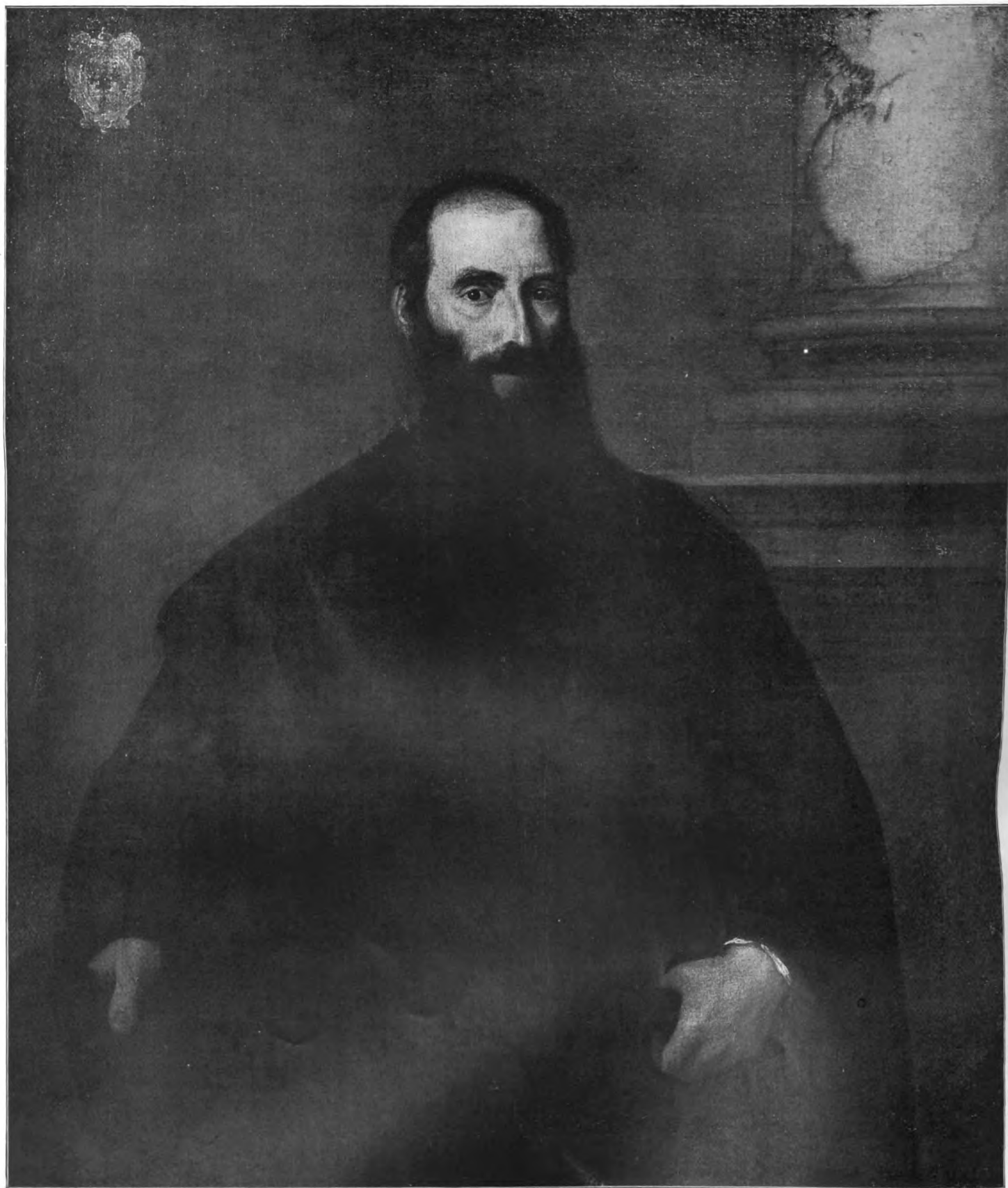


No. 4

STANDING CUPS



PORTRAIT OF GIACOMO DORIA, BY TIZIANO VECELLIO; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. JULIUS WERNHER



PORTRAIT OF GIACOMO DORIA, BY TIZIANO VECELLIO; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. JULIUS WERNHER

THREE UNPUBLISHED ITALIAN PORTRAITS

✿ WRITTEN BY HERBERT COOK, F.S.A. ✿

IN these days, when fine works by the great masters usually emigrate from England to America, it is a pleasure to be able to record an instance to the contrary, or, to be exact, to welcome a new arrival from Italy, and to find it housed in an English private collection. Such is the case with the Titian portrait here presented for the first time to the reader's gaze. This particular addition to the sum total of fine works of art still preserved intact in England's wealthy homes comes the more appropriately, inasmuch as another, and (it is said) even finer Titian portrait has just left our shores to enrich a Parisian collection. I allude to the recently discovered, long-lost portrait of Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, known to us hitherto only through Rubens's copy which hangs in the Gallery at Vienna. It is an open secret that such works of art are not even offered to the nation, which has long ceased to be a purchaser of the finest pictures. The enterprise of the private collector is now-a-days the main channel whereby first-rate paintings enter the country, and Mr. Wernher is to be congratulated on having obtained so rich a prize in the portrait of Giacomo Doria by Titian. ¶ Of its history I have not been able to discover anything; even those conscientious historians Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not allude to a missing portrait of this description; nor does the picture appear to be recorded elsewhere. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as the portrait bears both the authentic signature of the painter and the name of the person represented. Moreover, the question of authenticity cannot be in doubt for a moment. We are, therefore, face to face with a hitherto unknown portrait from the brush of the great Venetian, and one moreover

which for essential dignity bears comparison with more famous creations of its author. It may not possess the superb rhythm or the imaginative grandeur of the Charles V., or the subtlety of the Aretino, or the vivacity of the Strada portraits, or the refinement of "L'homme au gant"; but it is a manly rendering of a manly figure, straightforward, impressive, and dignified, a typical Titian. The great Venetian could paint a "gentleman" as no one else; do we not feel the Doria instinctively through the habit of the Augustinian friar? GIACOMO DORIA & (sic) AVGVSTINI, so runs the inscription, and we wonder whether this noble scion of a noble house quite fits the part proclaimed by the black robe and rope girdle. Perhaps he was lay brother of the Order, attired for the nonce in the Augustinian garb; but the contradiction remains, for Titian gives us the man and not the monk.¹ ¶ The hands are painted with wonderful force and truth, and are more finely modeled than is the head, which, unfortunately, is not altogether free from retouches. But even with this slight defect the face, with its resolute expression, is strikingly rendered. ¶ The form of signature, TICIANSVS, points to its having been painted in the early middle period of Titian's career, for after 1523 the painter almost invariably adopted the form TITIANVS. In style it is most akin to the male portraits in the Louvre, and to the so-called "Young Englishman" of the Pitti, though, as none of these pictures are dated, it is impossible to determine their exact sequence in the long list of Titian's works. ¶ The second of our illustrations shows a beautiful figure by Luini. This may or may not be a portrait;

¹ I have adopted this interpretation of the inscription, although it is open to argument that Giacomo Doria, son of Agostino, may be meant. I am indebted to Dr. Ludwig for the information that the Doria here represented is probably a member of the family branch at Castelfranco and Padua, rather than at Genoa, where Titian does not appear to have worked.

The Burlington Magazine if it is, the lady is represented in the guise of a female Saint, possibly St. Catherine, although her special emblem, the wheel, is not to be seen. Be that as it may, the figure is a lovely creation, by an artist who knew how to charm not only his contemporaries but us of a later age. England is well provided with fine Luinis, as was proved by the exhibition of Milanese Art held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1898, a state of affairs which makes us more reconciled to the inadequacy (in this respect) of our National Collection, where only one example (and that not the most attractive) is to be seen. Lords Windsor, Carysfort, and Lansdowne, Mr. Robert Benson, Mr. Ludwig Mond, and Lady Naylor-Leyland all possess important works by Luini, and to these names must now be added that of Mr. A. W. Leatham, from whose collection in Gloucestershire the present picture comes. It is in perfect preservation, and has remained hitherto unexhibited and consequently unknown to the outer world. ¶ The recent discovery of a long-lost portrait by Francia, which I was able to announce in the *Athenæum* of February 7, calls attention once again to the inexhaustible riches hidden away in the country homes of Great Britain. Here is one more instance of the recovery from oblivion of a work of art, and of its re-identification after a lapse of nearly 400 years. During that time this historical portrait passed from Italy to France, and from France to England, and, after rusticating some years in the western shires, it finally emerges into publicity and recognition at an exhibition held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. The fate of many historical works of art is yet unknown; it would not, however, be rash to assert that more of these missing treasures will be found one day in the homes of Great Britain than in any other country. ¶ In response to several requests a photogravure is now given of this portrait (as the frontispiece of the present number), and I may be excused if I briefly repeat what

is known of its history.¹ ¶ This portrait then is identified as the missing likeness of the young Federigo Gonzaga, afterwards 1st Duke of Mantua, the son of the famous Isabella d'Este, at whose request Francia painted this portrait at Bologna, in August, 1510. The reasons for the identification are that the portrait tallies with the description that is given of the work in Isabella's own correspondence with Francia, and that it obviously represents a youth of distinction, and one whose "brown eyes, golden hair, and bright intelligent face bear a marked likeness to his mother Isabella."² The apparent age of this boy, moreover, fits in with the fact that Francia painted his portrait in 1510, when Federigo was ten years old, and the style of painting reveals the artist in his maturity, which would be about the same date. ¶ Some people, however, before accepting such a conclusion, require proof of uninterrupted descent from the day the portrait was painted. Such proof can hardly ever be found over so long a period, and in this case I can supply only a few links in the chain. ¶ It seems that in May, 1512, some two years after the portrait was painted, Isabella presented it to a gentleman of Ferrara, named Zaninello, who had rendered her great services,³ and it probably remained hidden away in some private house in Ferrara until brought to Paris among Napoleon's spoils. Possibly some trace of this removal could yet be found; it is certain, however, that the father of the present owner, Mr. A. W. Leatham, bought it from the Napoleon collection, and that for many years it has hung at Miserden Park unrecognized, for the tradition of name seems to have miscarried. That it is a fine and genuine example of Francia's work cannot be doubted by any competent judge; that it represents the young Federigo Gonzaga gives to its æsthetic charm the added value of historic interest.

¹ An etching is also published in the Limited Edition.

² Mrs. Ady kindly supplemented my identification by these words in the *Athenæum* of February 14. The reader who wishes to have further particulars will find them in Mrs. Ady's forthcoming "Life of Isabella d'Este" (Murray).

³ See Dr. Luzio in *Emporium*, 1900, p. 429. Quoted by Mrs. Ady in *Athenæum*, February 14.



A VIRGIN MARTYR (PROBABLY A PORTRAIT) BY BERNADINO LUINI; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. A. W. LEATHAM



A VIRGIN MARTYR (PROBABLY A PORTRAIT) BY BERNADINO LUINI; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. A. W. LEATHAM

HANS SEBALD BEHAM AND A NEW CATALOGUE OF HIS WORKS

✎ WRITTEN BY CAMPBELL DODGSON ✎



NEW catalogue of Beham! Was there any need of such a thing, could there be any originality in it, after Bartsch and Passavant, after Rosenberg, Aumüller, Loftie and Seidlitz? The question is conceivable, but it could only be suggested by ignorance or carelessness. It may be said of almost any work of Beham's, woodcut or engraving, however authentic, however familiar, that no enquirer who wished to know all about it could be sure of finding what he wanted in any of the catalogues that I have mentioned. They were too much of the nature of summary lists, describing neither composition, dimensions, varieties of state nor differences between original and copy with sufficient precision of detail to meet the needs of a student to whom only one or two impressions were accessible for comparison. And if he regarded those catalogues from another point of view, and attempted to survey with their aid the whole scope of Beham's activity as an engraver, etcher, and draughtsman on wood, he might have fancied, as the authors themselves must have fancied, that his effort was rewarded by success, but he would have been very much mistaken. ¶ The extent to which our knowledge of Beham's work has been enlarged by Dr. Pauli's researches¹ may astonish even those who were to some extent prepared for it by independent study. The increase in the number of the works described is most remarkable by far in the case of the woodcuts. Herr von Seidlitz had passed as genuine 266 engravings and etchings; Dr. Pauli, after eliminating certain imitations and copies from the list, increases the number only to 270. The woodcuts, on the other

hand, have risen from 288 to 1,085. Beham's works, consecutively numbered, amount accordingly to the surprising total of 1,355. To these is added a list of doubtful or spurious works, attributed to Beham by this or that author, but rejected by his latest critic. These, taking woodcuts and engravings together, amount to 146; but in this case, of course, it only rests with the caprice or incompetence of critics to increase the number indefinitely. It is far otherwise with the 1,355 prints accepted as genuine. I have tested the correctness of the new attribution, so far as the woodcuts are concerned, in all but a few cases in which the impressions are unknown to me and inaccessible, and I have hardly ever found myself at variance with Dr. Pauli. The renaming of many familiar prints will astonish and repel those only who are accustomed to follow tradition blindly, and to accept as Dürer anything and everything that it has pleased Bartsch, Heller, or Passavant to call by his name. For it is from the mass of so-called Dürer woodcuts that Dr. Pauli has rescued a considerable proportion—considerable in quality rather than in quantity—of the neglected and forgotten works of Beham. Others of them needed only to be seen, in some out-of-the-way collection where they awaited the coming of the right observer; for they were actually signed by Beham or were so obviously in his style that no signature was needed. In other cases the authorship was less obvious, and the attribution is all the more to be commended. Numerically strongest, but strong in no other sense, are certain tiresome suites of little woodcuts, two square inches or less in area, which were used as illustrations to calendars or cheap devotional books, of which very few copies have survived. Of this kind are 169 illustrations to Genesis

¹Hans Sebald Beham. Ein kritisches Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche, Radirungen und Holzschnitte. Von Gustav Pauli. Heitz, Strassburg, 1901.

(P. 359–527), 147 little illustrations, chiefly of the Gospel story (P. 528–674), and another set of 42, extant only in the British Museum, that take their subjects from the Sunday gospels of the year (P. 767–809). Another lengthy and uninteresting series is the collection of 184 portraits of Roman emperors and empresses (P. 927–1110). All of these might have perished and left us none the poorer. The engravings, of course, have always been better known and prized more highly. No one could hope, so late in the day, to find many that were new. But we owe to Dr. Pauli the discovery of no less than six early etchings, all of great interest and rarity, which he described and illustrated in 1897 in the *Jahrbuch* of the Royal Collections of Prussia, and has now incorporated definitively in the catalogue of Beham's work. These subjects, all reproduced among the plates at the end of the book, are a "Madonna" of 1519 at Berlin (P. 20), a "St. Jerome" of 1519 at Coburg (P. 63), an early "Cimon and Pero" of which three impressions are known (P. 76), an allegorical female figure of 1519, after Marcantonio, at Coburg (P. 148), a "Peasant going to Market" of 1520 (P. 192), extant in four collections, which had been most unjustly set down as a copy from Binck, and a "Standard-bearer" of 1520 (P. 205), which is one of the many rarities in the old fortress that dominates the town of Coburg. Four of the six new etchings are signed, and it is only their rarity that caused them to be overlooked by less conscientious cataloguers. The others are equally indisputable. There is little hope of adding any new engravings to the list; it is conceivable, however, that one or two of the subjects, nowhere to be found at the present day, which earlier writers have described, may turn out after all to be genuine, though the explanation that they have been confused with other engravings owing to faulty description, is always the more likely. Most of the apocryphal engravings are modern forgeries, a few only being genuine works of

Beham's time wrongly ascribed. It seems incredible now that the etching of "A Pair of Lovers" (P. 1229a), with the date 1526, should have been taken seriously in every previous catalogue as an original work, being so obviously a modern copy (*circa* 1800) of a well-known woodcut by Beham himself, of which the first state (1522), unknown to Dr. Pauli, exists in the Von Lanna collection at Prague. ¶ The special value of the first half of this new catalogue, devoted to the engravings, is the thoroughness with which the successive states are described. It must have been a laborious and, as most people would say, a thankless task. The worst of it is that so few of the changes of state brought with them any real improvement to the engraving, or sprang from any artistic motive whatever. In the great majority of cases the plate was re-worked with the purely commercial purpose of keeping it in good repair, so that it could yield more impressions after the first delicate and harmonious effect, in which alone artist or collector could take pleasure, was for ever lost. But Beham was not so fastidious, in this and in many other ways, as the twentieth century may wish him to have been; we must take him as he is, and reckon with the states as we find them. Nothing could be more methodical, nothing clearer, than this account of them. I admire especially the practical way in which attention is called to any new system of shading, the commonest kind of re-touching, by printing two parallel lines slanting from left to right \backslash or from right to left $//$, as the case may be. The descriptions as they stand will bear a very close examination; here and there the facsimile of the wrong monogram has been used by an oversight, or "left" is substituted for "right," but such lapses are rare. I wish I could say that the work was final; many cases of the omission of intermediate states, which Dr. Laschitzer has discovered by careful examination of Viennese collections alone, prove sufficiently that it is not. But the advance

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1. THE MESSAGE OF THE
ANGEL TO JOACHIM.
ETCHING. 1520. P. 22.
2. HEAD OF CHRIST. ENGRAV-
ING. 1520. P. 30.
(ENLARGED)

3. HEAD OF CHRIST. WOOD-
CUT. P. 829. (GREATLY
REDUCED)
4. ST. SEBALD. 1521. P. 69 I.

on anything of the kind that had been printed before is enormous, and we must hope that Dr. Pauli himself will be able to go on with the work and make it in a second edition the faultless catalogue that it just fails to be. ¶ It is not my intention, however, to make this article a mere review. I have already spoken elsewhere of the many merits and the few defects of Dr. Pauli's catalogue, and I hope that all who take a real interest in Beham will discover both, or at least the merits, by familiarizing themselves with the book. Passing on to the work of Beham himself, I shall assume a sufficient familiarity with the mature and typical engravings of 1535-1550; I shall not dwell on the brilliant finish of the ornaments, the technical accomplishment of the Biblical subjects, or tiny scenes from contemporary life, of which a few specimens are given, with such approximate fidelity as translation into another process permits, on the second of the two plates that illustrate this article. Engravings of this class and period have a beauty and perfection of their own which will always appeal to collectors and lovers of fine work on copper, and I need not urge their claims to recognition. Still less need I speak of the unpleasant side of Beham's work, the coarse or suggestive prints which appealed only to the baser instincts of his patrons, the monotonous sets of mythological subjects, or such frigid and uninspired allegories as "Patience," "Melancholy," and "The Impossible." I would rather dwell on points which are less generally appreciated, at least in England: the interest of Beham's earliest period, that in which he was most faithful to German traditions, and the wonderful range and variety of his work as an illustrator and draughtsman on wood. The rarity of the early engravings and etchings and of all but a few of the woodcuts, is a sufficient explanation of the neglect from which they have suffered; Dr. Pauli has done more than anyone to help towards their restoration to favour. There are many arguments in favour of the traditional statement

that Beham changed his signature from Hans Sebald H. S. P. to H. S. B. on leaving Nuremberg for Frankfurt, if we limit the statement definitely to his first appearance in the region of the Middle Rhine in 1531. It is with Mainz, as a matter of fact, and not at first with Frankfurt, that the evidence connects him, though in 1532 at the latest he must have been in the employment of the Frankfurt publisher, Christian Egenolph. I would not go so far as to say that nothing subsequent to 1531 is of equal interest with the works of the earlier period; 1535, for instance, in which Beham was back at Nuremberg for a short time, was a brilliant year, and 1533 saw the publication of the Bible woodcuts, which are not to be despised. But he had been spoilt by then for anything but an exceptional effort. The Beham that I like to picture to myself is a keen, experimental youth, nineteen to twenty-two years of age. He was born with the century, it is useful to remember, and saw it run exactly half its course; in 1525, when his notorious troubles with the Council of his native town began, my interest in the scapegrace begins to flag. His infidelity is tiresome and insincere; it does not deter him from turning out pious little Protestant woodcuts by the score, seldom edifying either to the critic or the Christian. But, five years earlier, I like to think that he believed in something; if not in our Lord, our Lady and the saints, it is very certain that he believed in the good traditions of German art. As a son of Nuremberg he must needs venerate Dürer; I am pleased to add that Altdorfer was another of his heroes. It was curiosity and anxiety to improve himself, not laziness or dishonesty, if I read him aright, that led him, in Stevenson's phrase, to "play the sedulous ape" to his elders and betters. ¶ Dürer's, of course, was the paramount influence. It shows itself mainly in technique and style of drawing, rarely in direct imitation of a definite model. Cases of copying, however, occur. Dr. Pauli has mentioned more than one; I have myself

found at Bamberg a copy, dated 1521, of Dürer's "Death of the Virgin," and the vigorous, ugly head of an elderly man here reproduced is an exact copy, line for line, on a much larger scale, of a well-known head in a Holy Family of 1511 by Dürer (B. 97). The only known impression of the copy is at Oxford. The engraved "Head of Christ," of 1520, here reproduced (Plate I, 2), may almost be called a copy of Dürer's engraving of the Sudarium held by two angels. A few words must be said to explain this reproduction. The head has been enlarged to twice its height in order that the woodcut placed by its side for comparison might not suffer by a too extreme reduction in scale. As it is, the reproduction (Plate I, 3) is less than one-sixth of the height of the original. Now that woodcut, never accepted by any competent authority as a certain work of Dürer's, is one on which the public pins its faith. If one were to trust the Nuremberg printsellers of to-day, one would have to accept it as one of Dürer's masterpieces. It has enjoyed, not only now, but for centuries past, a great popular reputation, and has been copied again and again. But all this association with Dürer depends on a monogram placed outside the limits of the print; and the monogram is part and parcel of a forgery of the late sixteenth, perhaps the seventeenth century, in which the worn-out original border-line was replaced by a new and wider line with a monogram outside it. Had it not been for the monogram, the print would have become as scarce as any other fine Beham woodcut; as the true and original "Adam and Eve," for instance. As it is, but two impressions of the "Head of Christ," in the genuine, early, unsigned state as Beham issued it, have survived—a black impression in the British Museum, a chiaroscuro in the Albertina. I do not expect anyone to believe all this on the strength of my illustrations. On the contrary, the reduction militates to some extent against the acceptance of the woodcut as Beham's; the real weight of the argument should rest

on the great, broad, sweeping line, which here, as in two large decorative woodcuts that have passed as Dürer's, the "Frieze with Tritons" (P. 1346) and the "Vine Pattern with Satyrs" (P. 1342), is so truly characteristic of Beham. But it is interesting to set the subject side by side with an undoubted engraving of Beham's, and to see how much, when all allowance is made for difference of technique, and presumably also of date, the two representations have in common. ¶ Of the influence of Altdorfer on Beham, most prominent in 1520, no more interesting or charming example could be produced



IsP

Head of an Old Man, after Dürer. P. 1260 (reduced).

than the delicious little etching of "St. Joachim and the Angel" (Plate I, 1). The angel is stolen straight from a woodcut of Altdorfer's (B. 4), but used with such grace and tact that one gladly forgives the thief. Technically, and in every way, is this one of the most perfect etchings of the German school. The Madonna in the little engraving, P. 18, is an imitation of Altdorfer's "Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg." St. Jerome, P. 66, abounds in reminiscences of Altdorfer. So do the six early woodcuts (1521-1522) of the Passion series; I am

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1. REGULUS. ETCHING. P. 75.

2. ORNAMENT. P. 228 I.

3. ORNAMENT. 1544. P. 231 I.

4. JOB AND HIS FRIENDS. 1547. P. 17 I.

5. THE SENTRY. P. 200 I.

6. CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.
P. 26 I.

7. CHRIST IN THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE
PHARISEE. P. 27 II.

8. THE LOVERS AND THE JESTER. P. 214 I.

surprised that most writers can find them so closely akin to Dürer ; they must really be thinking of the two subjects that were added in 1535. ¶ I might tell tales of plagiarisms from Marcantonio, and denounce a certain copy—of the early period, too—from



A Playing Card ("Ober" of Pomegranates). P. 1327.

Raphael's "Madonna del Pesce"; but it will be kinder both to Beham and my readers to pass them by. I would call attention, rather, to the strength and freshness, the delightful originality, when it is original, of Beham's early work, especially on wood. It is all so rare, more's the pity, that no one can see more than a few specimens of it, unless he travels or takes full advantage of photography. A St. Jerome (in which I crave indulgence for the lion) at Vienna; an old man's head, of 1521, at Prague and London; a St. Barbara at Erlangen; a St. Erasmus in the British Museum; a St. Wolfgang at Coburg; "Death and the Courtesan," 1522, preserved in the first state only at Berlin; "Death and the Child" (P. 1123); "The Siege of Rhodes" and "The Siege of Belgrade" (Griechisch Weissenburg—Alba Græca),

by the Turks, in the Albertina, dated 1522, Hans Sebald and both unique—these are specimens of the Beham and a work by which I should wish Beham to be New Catalogued. The Berlin print is reproduced here on as large a scale as possible. It Works should be compared, by those who possess Dr. Pauli's book, with the reproduction of "St. Wolfgang" (P. 902). The treatment of the foliage is precisely the same in both. It is curious to see, on this large scale, a peculiarity in the drawing of the woman's legs which is especially characteristic of Beham when he draws figures an inch high, or less, as in the tiny Bible cuts. A capital work of the early time is the pack of cards, from which I have selected a characteristic specimen. All the figures are original and varied in pose, sure and masterly in drawing. A little child angel, or genius, with a broken staff and an escutcheon, that I discovered, curiously enough, in books dated 1553 and 1554, must be thirty years earlier, to judge by its affinity to the cards. ¶ A series of illustrations (P. 703-747), that is not so well known and appreciated as it deserves to be, appeared in Johann von Eck's *Christenliche Auslegung der Evangelien*, printed at Ingolstadt in 1530. The majority of the woodcuts illustrate the miracles and parables of our Lord, and each one tells its story with a fine directness and simplicity. There are failures:—The "Marriage at Cana" is tasteless and ugly; in "The Hireling Shepherd" the wolf's attack is so mild that



Death and the Child. P. 1123.

the shepherd's dismay is merely ludicrous; the group of Christ and the Apostles, often repeated, is monotonous, and their tall figures show those exaggerated proportions which Dr. Pauli has noted in the engravings of 1529 and explained by the influence of Dürer's work on proportion, published in 1528. But these defects are outweighed by the originality and good design of the majority of the cuts. I would praise especially "The Sower," here reproduced; "The Good Samaritan," with its delightful landscape; the "Marriage Feast," at which a guest is reproved for the lack of a wedding garment; "Lazarus and Dives," and "The Unmerciful Servant." The cutting is admirable throughout, and the printing better than is usually found in German books of the time. ¶ The Old Testament cuts, which first appeared in 1533, enjoyed a far greater popularity, and went through very numerous editions. They can only be seen at their best in the rare first edition, with only a line of text to explain the subject, of which the British Museum, thanks to that generous donor Mr. William Mitchell, possesses a faultless copy. "The Death of Abel," which Dr. Pauli justly praises, is given here. ¶ Those are the only illustrations on which I care to dwell. Of the separate cuts, on a large scale, I would commend especially the panorama of a military display given at Munich in honour of the visit of Charles V. in 1530. Rarely has such a task been carried out with so much



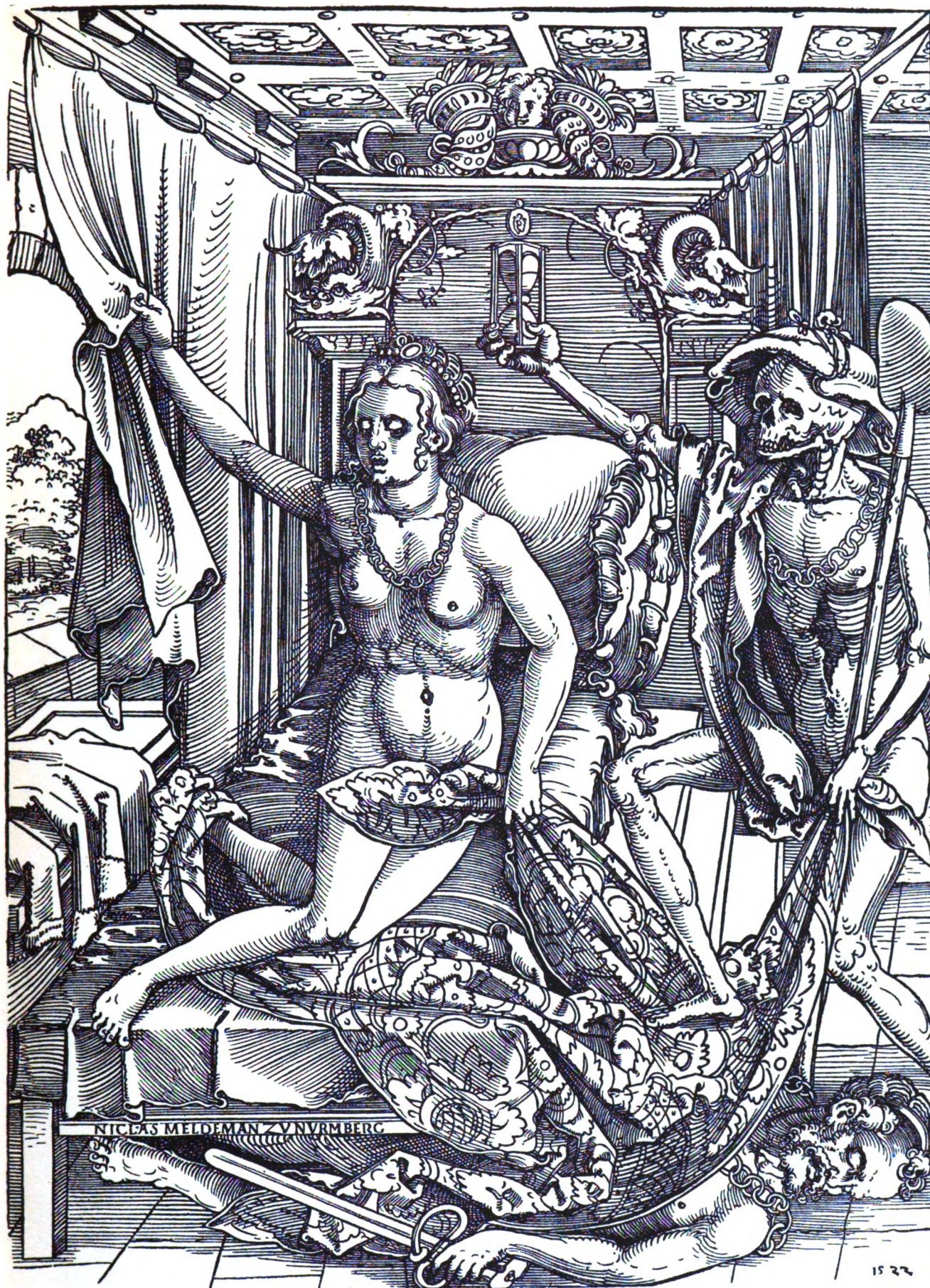
The Death of Abel. P. 279.

taste and finish. With all its attention to detail and topographical accuracy, the design is extremely picturesque. But it must be seen in the first edition, one of the rarities



The Parable of the Sower. P. 717.

of the London Print Room; later prints are heavy and coarse. Beham used many of the little figures of peasants and bystanders as material for engravings in after years. The man on the right in that charming little print, "The Sentry" (Plate II, 5), is derived from this source. ¶ The "Village Fair," of which the left half is given here on a greatly reduced scale, is perhaps the finest of all Beham's scenes from peasant life. Many of the small engravings of such subjects are animated and amusing, but the large woodcut surpasses them in variety and picturesqueness. Every group in it is dramatic and telling, from the party carousing outside the tavern to the housewife bent on choosing a bag at the booth on the extreme left. The most amusing scene is that in which a quack dentist is attending to a patient's teeth while an accomplice picks his pocket. The expression of artfulness or



DEATH AND THE COURTESAN (SIGNED BY THE WOOD-ENGRAVER). P. 1122. (REDUCED)

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greed in the middle group, where each side is trying to outwit the other over a bargain for a calf, is as good as the absorbing interest in mere talk which animates their neighbours on the left. The old-world village church and the cottages dominated by a castle on a hill make a charming background to the village street in which a wedding party moves to the sound of trumpet and

bagpipe. ¶ Of the other illustrations I will only say, that the reader need not ask in every case, "Qu'est ce que cela prouve?" They are chosen as favourable specimens of the work of Beham's later years, and combined with a view to decorative effect. From the abundant store that he has left us many other selections equally appropriate could have been made.



The Village Fair. P. 1245 (left half, much reduced)

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE BRUGES EXHIBITION OF 1902

✿ WRITTEN BY W. H. JAMES WEALE ✿

ARTICLE II

THE wars which desolated the principality of Liège, and especially the country bordering the Maas, no doubt broke up the local school and dispersed the artists. Maastricht itself was twice besieged, in 1387 and 1408. Thus, just as, a century later, the printers of Mentz for a similar reason left that city and spread the art of printing throughout Europe, so at this time the Mosan artists gave a new impulse to the art of painting in Flanders, in Hainault, in France and elsewhere. ¶ One of these artists, Robert Campin, who was born in 1375 and died on April 26, 1444, settled in Tournay with his wife, Isabella of Stockhem, in or before 1406. In February 1408 he bought a house, which he had for some time occupied as a tenant, close to the choir of the cathedral. In December 1410 he obtained the freedom of the city, which was only granted to persons of standing. In 1426 he received as pupil Roger De la Pasture, and in 1427 James Daret. Campin quickly gained a reputation and, as documents in the archives of Tournay show, was in constant employment and amassed a considerable fortune. No work can as yet be proved to be by him; there are, however, a certain number of paintings formerly attributed to Roger De la Pasture, but during the last few years assigned to James Daret, which cannot possibly be by either, as those artists were admitted as master-painters only in 1432—Roger on August 1 and Daret on October 18—and these pictures were certainly painted before that date; one of them, now in the Prado Museum at Madrid (1817A), represents the budding of Saint Joseph's rod and the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin, and is repro-

duced here; the first of these episodes is taking place in a Romanesque building, two of the sculptured pillars of which have their counterparts in the cathedral of Tournay. In the foreground immediately in front of this building are the rising walls of a new porch, partly covered with matting to protect the fresh mortar; the pillars are seen in section, and thus the mouldings enable us to fix the commencement of the fifteenth century as the date of the execution of the picture, which cannot possibly be later than 1425. A peculiar feature in this and in other pictures by the same artist is the recurrence of inscriptions in Hebrew characters on striped stuffs. ¶ De la Pasture was not well represented at Bruges. Of no one of the seventeen pictures attributed to him can the authenticity be said to be established. It is, however, probable that the portrait of a man (26) may have been painted by him towards the end of his career. It is said to represent Peter Bladelin, the treasurer of the Order of the Golden Fleece and founder of the town of Middelburg in Flanders; but this is not borne out on comparison with the authentic portrait in the altar-piece of the church of Middelburg now in the Berlin Gallery. A far more pleasing portrait, also dating from the later years of Roger's life, is that of a young woman (108), lent by the Duke of Anhalt and here reproduced. It is remarkable for the delicate modelling of the flesh and the perfect blending of the soft, pale tones, and for the almost entire absence of shadow. The Pietà (25) from the Pallavicini-Grimaldi Collection at Genoa, lent by the Brussels Museum, is a wonderfully powerful composition; the figures at the foot of the Cross, full of intense emotion, stand out in strong relief against a sky ablaze with the orange, red, and purple glow of a



*Virgin and Child with Two Angels. From the collection of the Duke of Devonshire.
Painter and date unknown. (British Museum, London)*



*Virgin and Child, with Tower of Notre Dame at Bruges introduced in the background.
Painter unknown : in the collection of Madame. André.*

brilliant sunset. I know of no other example of such richness and warmth of tints in Roger's works, which are generally bathed in clear all-pervading morning light. Another Pietà, with a kneeling figure of the donor, in the possession of the Earl of Powis, also attributed to Roger, bears considerable resemblance to this picture, but is certainly not by the same hand. The lovely little panel of Our Lady seated in a Gothic canopied niche, adorned with sculptured groups representing her seven Joys (30), lent by the Earl of Northbrook, must still be considered the work of an anonymous master, the author of another small panel in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. ¶ James Daret, who died in 1466, and his brother Daniel, admitted as master-painter on February 10, 1440, belonged to a family some members of which were cabinet-makers and others carvers of wooden figures. James Daret was probably the painter of an altar-piece,¹ formerly in the church of the priory of Saint John of Jerusalem at Flémalle on the Meuse, between Huy and Liège; the sinister panel of which is now in the Staedel Institute at Frankfort. A copy of the entire composition (22), now in the Royal Institution at Liverpool, but formerly in the Hospital of Saint Julian at Bruges, is here reproduced. On the inner face of the dexter shutter the painter has represented the donor, and on that of the other, an escutcheon charged with the arms of the town. On the exterior are full-length figures in grisaille of the patrons of the hospital, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Julian. This makes it probable that the original work was painted for some church in Bruges, a presumption supported by the fact, first noticed by M. George Hulin, that some of the figures in a Passion picture in the cathedral of Bruges, dated 1500, are copied from it. The only original work attributed to Daret in the

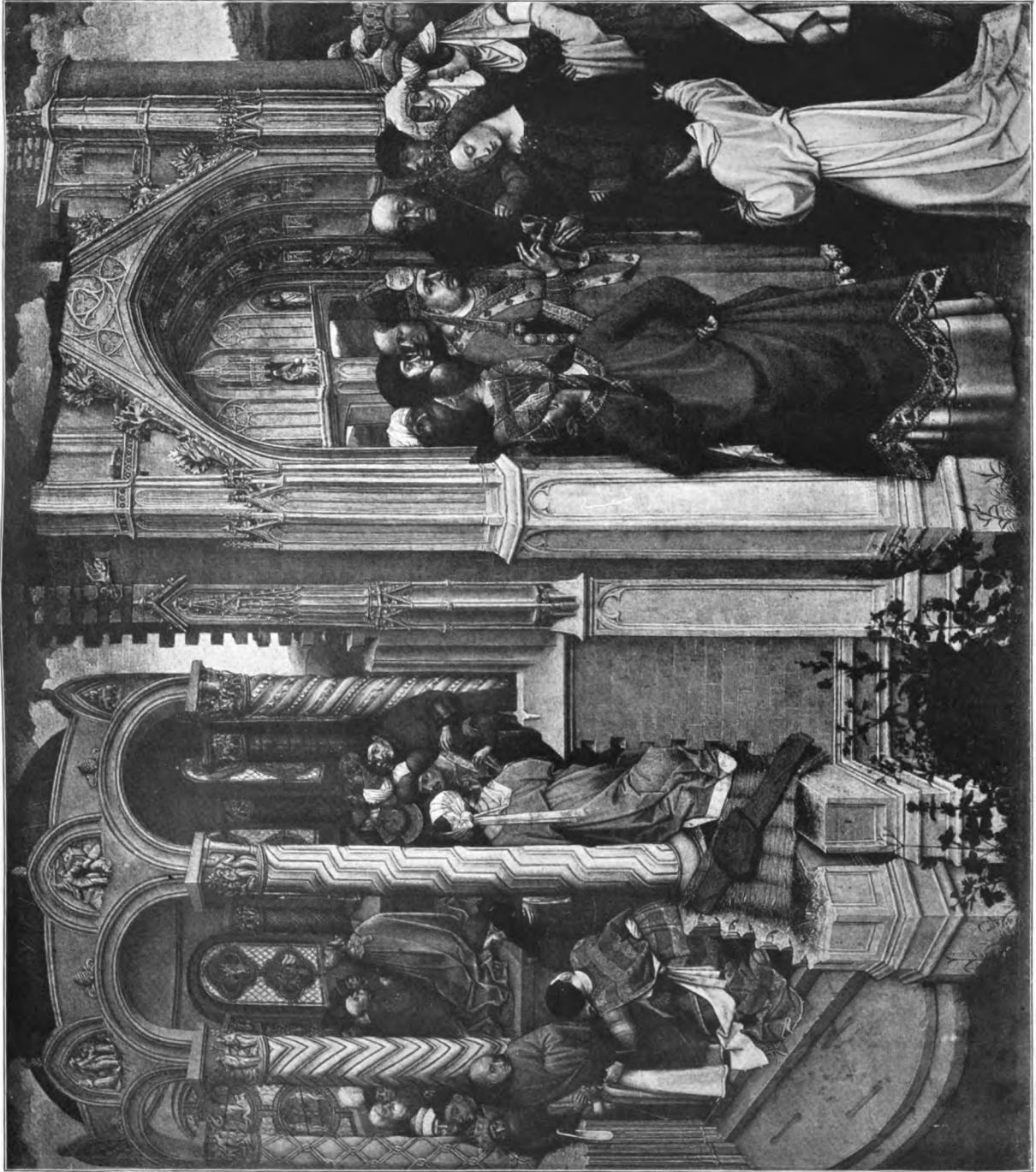
¹ The designation "Master of Flémalle," given by most writers to this painter, is very misleading, there being no evidence that he was in any way connected with Flémalle, no proof that the picture was painted for that priory. All we know is that M. van Houtten of Aachen bought it and three others from a priest at Liège, who said that they came from Flémalle.

Exhibition was the panel (48) lent by M. The Early Somzée to the New Gallery three years ago. Painters of This picture represents the Blessed Virgin the Nether- sitting with her back to the fire, her head lands as Illus- relieved by a roundel of plaited rushes which trated by the serves both as a screen and a nimbus. ¶ The Bruges Exhi- type of the Virgin in this picture is ugly, bition of 1902 offering a strange contrast to the sweet and dignified figure in the Staedel Institute. May it not be that this and the Saint Petersburg picture of Mary warming her hand prior to dressing her child are from the hand of Daniel Daret? Anyway, I am convinced that the works formerly attributed to Roger, and now given indiscriminately to the "Master of Flémalle," are really productions of three different artists; the earliest characterized by the constant introduction of striped garments with inscriptions in Hebrew or Arabic letters, another by the importance given to furniture and woodwork, and a third by his fondness for plaits and interlacements. The identification of each can only be determined by documentary evidence, at present not forthcoming. ¶ A most interesting picture lent by Madame André (99) must have been painted at Bruges, as the noble brick tower of the church of Our Lady is represented in the background. The Virgin here holds an inkpot, and the Child a pen and a leaf of vellum. Sculptured figures similarly characterized are still to be seen in the cloister of the church of Our Lady at Maastricht, and at the entrance of the Butchers' Hall at Ghent. The image of Our Lady of Aardenburg, a small town not far from Bruges, presented similar features. Aardenburg was much resorted to by pilgrims from the surrounding districts, and from the eastern counties of England. Edward IV. made a pilgrimage to it in 1470, and images of Our Lady of Aardenburg were venerated in several East Anglian churches. It is therefore probable that this picture was painted in her honour. It is, however, I think, certain that the pen and ink and vellum roll characterizing these figures commemorate the popular legend of

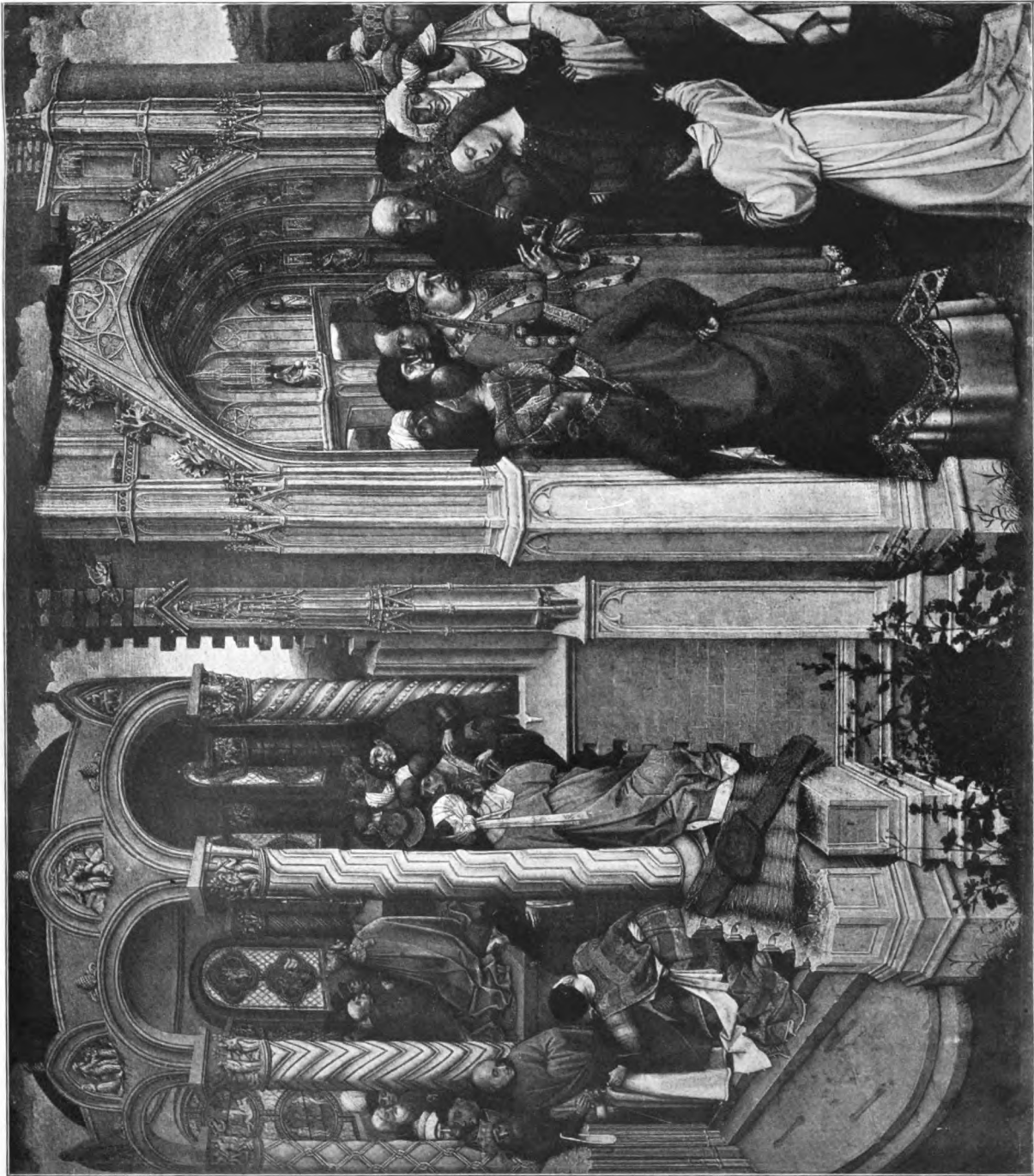
the clerk Theophilus, so often represented both in sculpture and in stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in French churches. Madame André's picture, though evidently dating from the last third of the fifteenth century, shows both in design and execution the influence of the Mosan school. ¶ Dirk Bouts, son of a landscape painter of the same name, born at Haarlem at the beginning of the fifteenth century, settled in Louvain before 1448. His principal works were painted to adorn the public buildings of that town. Two only of these have escaped removal; both were lent to the exhibition, and are here reproduced. The earlier of the two, painted before 1464, represents the Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus (35). In the foreground of a picturesque valley, the bishop, his arms and legs securely bound, is laid on a platform beneath a roller extending from head to foot turned by a handle at each end. Two men, whose attitudes are well conceived, are disembowelling the saint in the presence of a judge, who with a counsellor on his left and two other persons, stands a little further back on rising ground. The calm and heroic resignation of the saint and the expression of pity on the faces of the two principal on-lookers and of one of the executioners is skilfully rendered.¹ The shutters are occupied by full length figures of Saint Jerome and Saint Bernard. "The Last Supper" (36) is the central panel of a triptych, the shutters of which are now in the museums of Berlin and Munich. The Guild of the Blessed Sacrament established in the church of Saint Peter, gave Bouts the commission to paint this altar-piece on March 15, 1464. He promised to devote his highest artistic powers to its execution, to spare neither time nor labour, but to put forth in it all the talent which God had granted him, and to carry out

¹ A picture painted on an oak panel in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, representing the same subject, bears at its foot this inscription: "P frēm Johēm holynburne A dñi 1474." The figure of this Benedictine monk, his hands joined in prayer, is introduced in the sinister corner. The landscape background, with a lofty church tower and other buildings of a city, has the appearance of having been painted in Brabant.

the scheme drawn up for his direction by two theologians of the University. He further bound himself not to undertake any other work until this should be completed, which was not until 1468. He received in payment for the triptych the sum of 200 Rhenish florins. This, Bouts's masterpiece, is full of earnest feeling and reverent treatment; the figures, carefully studied, are distinguished by a considerable and suitable variety of expression according to the individual temperament of each. The lighting of the room is excellent, and the reflections in the glasses and the pewter dish on the table are rendered with extraordinary fidelity. On the extreme left Bouts has represented himself standing by the side of an aumbrye, and his two sons looking in at the buttery hatch. Another remarkable painting by this master from the cathedral of Bruges, represents the Martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus (37), who, his eyes fixed on Heaven, lies on the ground, his hands and feet bound with cords and attached to four horses about to tear him to pieces. Four servants armed with whips only await the signal to start them, which the judge, seated on the slope of the hill in front of a clump of trees, is on the point of giving. The landscape background is admirably painted; on the dexter panel, the donor and his wife kneel, pious and recollected, in the foreground of a lovely well-wooded valley, near a picturesque gabled mansion. On the sinister panel, Saint Hippolytus, questioned by the Emperor as to why he had buried the body of Saint Laurence, declares himself to be a Christian, and receives his sentence; in the background are a castle and other buildings. The portraits of the donors, which are remarkably fine, appear to be by another hand, probably, as suggested by M. Hulin, by Hugh Van der Goes. Both figures are clad in damask garments of two shades of violet, and to bring these into harmony with the rest of the picture the painter has added some intense greenish-blue tints in the background; these tints are also found in the sinister panel



THE SELECTION OF ST. JOSEPH AND THE MARRIAGE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, FROM THE PICTURE BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER (BEFORE 1425) IN
THE PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID



THE SELECTION OF ST. JOSEPH AND THE MARRIAGE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, FROM THE PICTURE BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER (BEFORE 1425) IN
THE PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID



PORTRAIT BY ROGER DE LA PASTURE, IN THE MUSEUM, WOERLITZ



PORTRAIT BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER, IN THE MUSEUM, WOERLITZ



PORTRAIT BY ROGER DE LA PASTURE, IN THE MUSEUM, WOERLITZ



PORTRAIT BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER, IN THE MUSEUM, WOERLITZ



TRIPTYCH, BY DIRK BOUTS. CENTRE, THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ERASMUS; DEXTER WING, ST. JEROME; SINISTER WING, ST. BERNARD:
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER, LOUVAIN



TRIPTYCH: THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS; IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL. THE RIGHT WING, THE VIRGIN AND CHILD; THE LEFT WING, THE VIRGIN AND CHILD
ST. JULIAN'S HOSPITAL, BRUGES

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TRIPTYCH, BY DIRK BOUTS: CENTRE, THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ERASMUS; DEXTER WING, ST. JEROME; SINISTER WING, ST. BERNARD;
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER, LOUVAIN



TRIPTYCH: THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS; IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL; PAINTER UNKNOWN. FORMERLY IN THE CHAPEL OF
ST. JULIAN'S HOSPITAL, BRUGES



THE LAST SUPPER, BY DIRK BOUTS; IN THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER, LOUVAIN



TRIPTYCH, BY DIJK BOUTS: CENTRE, THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS; DEXTER WING, THE DONORS; SINISTER WING, A SCENE IN THE LIFE OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS;
IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. SAVIOUR, BRUGES

of the Portinari altar-piece at Florence. It is probable that Bouts, who died on May 6, 1475, was unable to execute the portraits, and that Berthoz employed Van der Goes, who perhaps also painted the figures in grisaille of Saint Hippolytus and Saint Elisabeth on the reverse ; the other two of the Emperor Charles the Great and Saint Margaret are of later date. The Exhibition included four other pictures which are attributed on good grounds to Bouts. The first is an early work belonging to Lord Penrhyn representing Saint Luke painting the portraits of the Blessed Virgin and Child (115), transferred from panel to canvas by Mr. Buttery in 1899. Through an open door on the sinister side of the panel is seen the painter's workshop with an unfinished picture in a frame on an easel. The early masters were in the habit of painting their picture-frames in imitation of stone or marble, and the subject was painted as if seen through an opening. The other three are a fine portrait of a young man (38), apparently a late work, lent by Baron Albert Oppenheim ; a fragment of a Nativity (38) ; and Christ in the house of Simon (39), a reversed copy of which is in the Museum at Brussels. A small panel of Christ on the Cross, with the Blessed Virgin and Saint John and a view of Brussels in the background (40), brought many years ago from a church in Sicily to Vienna, and formerly attributed to Roger, is now given to Dirk Bouts, as it appears to me, on insufficient grounds. The portrait of a young man (143), lent by the Duke of Anhalt, with an architectural background must also be classed as by an unknown master, perhaps of Valenciennes. ¶ Amongst other works which cannot at present be attributed to any particular master, the following deserve especial mention : Two panels (45) bought in the middle of the last century by the Confraternity of the

Holy Blood, under the impression that they represented episodes connected with the translation of that relic from Jerusalem. They really formed part of an altar-piece in the church of Aeltre, and were probably painted by a Ghent master about 1470. A triptych (49) having all three panels of the same dimensions, lent by the Museum of Sigmaringen, was, as attested by an inscription, completed June 27, 1473 ; it represents John De Witte, burgomaster of Bruges, and his second wife, Mary Hoose, adoring the Infant Jesus lying on the lap of His Mother, who is seated on a faldstool in the middle of a garden. Our Lord on the Cross, with the Blessed Virgin and Saint John, occupy the exterior face of the sinister panel. An altar-piece (50), lent by the church of St. James, representing scenes from the life of Saint Lucy, dated 1480, has a view of Bruges in the background. Four panels (46, 47), lent by the Convent of the Black Sisters, formed the shutters of an altar-piece ; those of the upper portion represent the Church with a chalice and a cross advancing, and the Synagogue with a banner, the staff of which is falling to pieces, and the tables of the Law slipping from her grasp ; those of the lower zone seven episodes of the legend of Saint Ursula, and the veneration of her relics, and on the reverse figures in grisaille of the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church ; the central panels, now lost, probably represented Saint Ursula and her companions in glory, and Christ on the Cross with the Blessed Virgin and Saint John. A series of panels, the doors of the bookcases in the Library of the Abbey of Our Lady of the Dunes, on which are painted full-length figures of the abbots and counts and countesses of Flanders, lent by the Diocesan Seminary, may possibly have been executed by the same painter.

The Early Painters of the Netherlands as Illustrated by the Bruges Exhibition of 1902

[The numbers in brackets after the titles of pictures are those of the official catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition. The first article of this series was published in March, 1903.]

NOTES ON VARIOUS WORKS OF ART

AN UNPUBLISHED MINIATURE BY HOLBEIN IN THE POSSESSION OF THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND

THE Queen of Holland has in her possession a collection of miniatures which is preserved in Her Majesty's private library in the Royal Palace at the Hague. They amount in number to about 400 and are of various schools and dates; among them are some forty or fifty of English origin, some by early masters such as Isaac and Peter Oliver, Alexander and Samuel Cooper, and John Hoskins. Of these I hope to give, by the gracious permission of the Queen, some account in a future number of this magazine. Meanwhile Her Majesty has permitted me to reproduce one miniature which is by far the most important of the collection. It is the head of a youth apparently of fifteen or sixteen years of age, the hair close cut, dressed in a brown doublet trimmed with black, with a small, open, falling collar round the neck, with strings attached; this collar, originally white, has been discoloured by the oxidization of the pigment, in other respects the miniature is in perfect condition. ¶ The extraordinary power and beauty of the miniature were manifest at first sight, and a close examination has convinced me that it can be attributed only to Holbein, of whose work in this branch of portraiture I have long been a student as well as of his crayon drawings. It has all the restraint of power so characteristic of him, and the exquisite delicacy of line combined with firmness and precision, which never united in the same degree in any master with whose work I am acquainted. ¶ Of whom this may be the portrait nothing is known. Its association with other English miniatures may indicate that it was executed in this country, and it might possibly be one of the family of a

merchant of the steel-yard, like the admirable head of Derek Born at Windsor.

RICHARD R. HOLMES.

A FINE XVI CENTURY BRONZE IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR WILLIAM BENNETT, K.C.V.O.

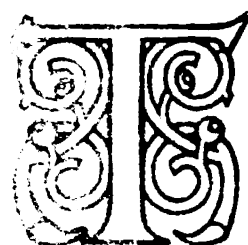
THE rapid growth of late years in the appreciation of works of art of the highest quality by the real connoisseur has led to the absorption of nearly all of what is best, outside the National Museums of this and other countries, by those private collectors who acquire art treasures for the love of their possession without regard to remote commercial objects. Hence the opportunities which present themselves for obtaining fine specimens of true artistic work are becoming increasingly rare. In no description of works of art is this more evident than in bronzes of the sixteenth century. The acquisition therefore of a fine work of this period which has hitherto been unknown to collectors in any national or private collection is a matter of some interest. The group in *cire perdue* shown in our illustration was recently obtained from a private family in Italy, in whose possession it had been for some generations, it having always been believed by its successive possessors to be the work of Giovanni da Bologna (b. 1524, d. 1608). Although of moderate size, measuring, with the pedestal, which is manifestly of the same date, only 33 ins. in height, it is a work of obvious importance. The modelling of the female figure is superb, and that of the male hardly less fine; the suggestion of beauty combined with strength and action, afforded by the whole composition, is remarkable. The quality of the "patine" is unsurpassable, and the condition







*Unidentified portrait by Hans Holbein,
from the miniature in the possession of
Her Majesty the Queen of Holland.*

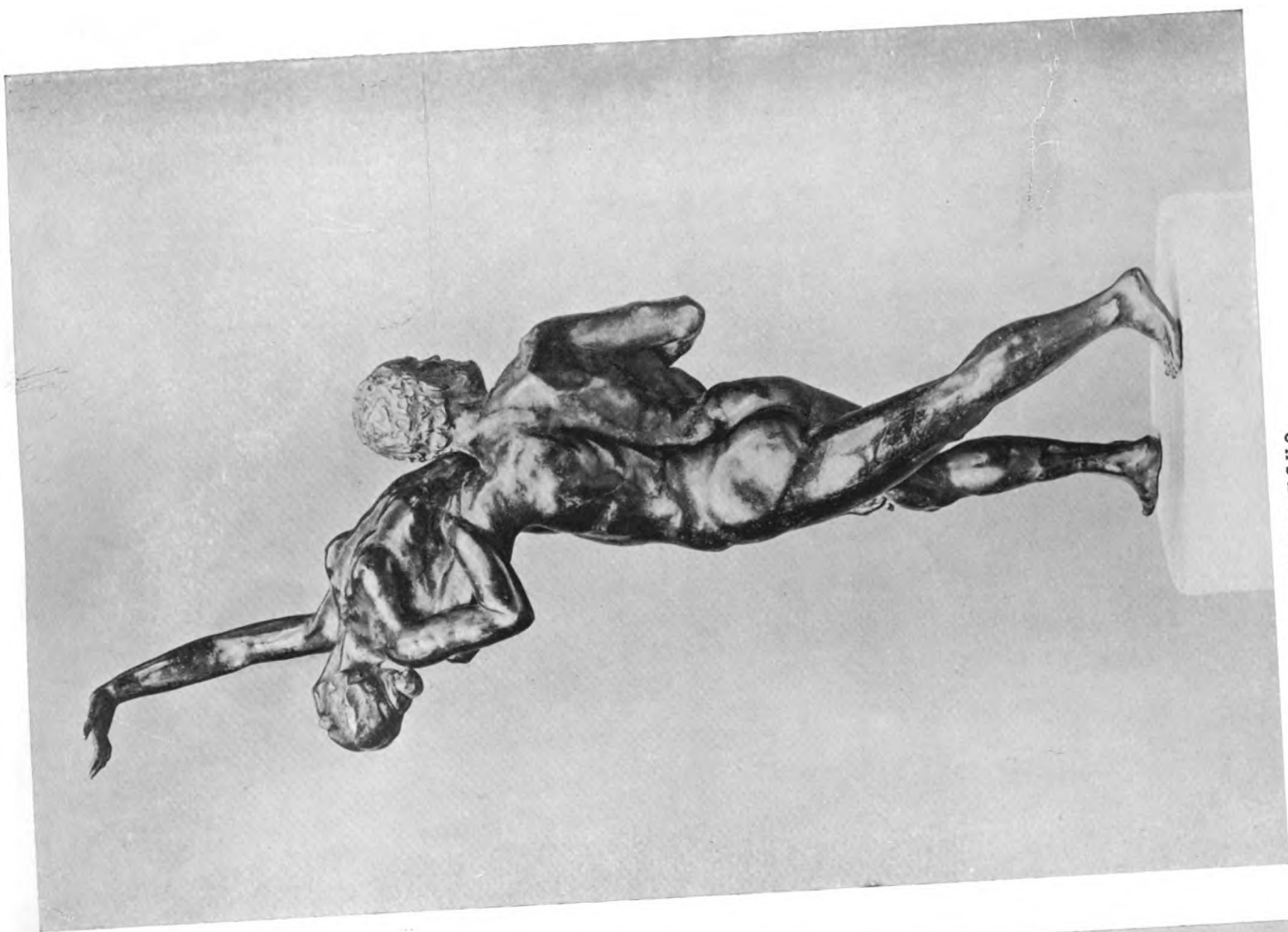




*Unidentified portrait by Hans Holbein,
from the miniature in the possession of
Her Majesty the Queen of Holland.*



*Unidentified portrait by Hans Holbein,
from the miniature in the possession of
Her Majesty the Queen of Holland.*



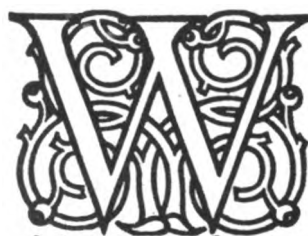
THE CAPTURE, ITALIAN BRONZE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR WILLIAM BENNETT, K.C.V.O.

altogether is perfect, thanks clearly to the sympathetic care taken in its preservation, which has saved it from the pernicious effects of the cleaning and polishing sometimes resorted to by ill-advised possessors of fine bronzes to their grievous detriment. With regard to the artist, it may safely be allowed that the female figure has all the qualities of the art of John of Bologna at his best, and but for a slight exaggeration in some anatomical details in the male, the same may be said of it; moreover, although exaggeration in anatomical detail is generally absent from the best of this master's work, it is susceptible of explanation in this instance upon artistic grounds. A comparison between this bronze and the large marble group of the same subject (the carrying off of a Sabine woman) by John of Bologna in the Loggia de' Lanzi in Florence, shows a remarkable resemblance in the treatment and modelling of the woman, although the pose is not the same. In the Florence group, however, the man is absorbed in the contemplation of his captive with the hunger of desire, whilst in this bronze the man's head is averted, his attention having evidently been attracted by some danger, possibly an attempt at rescue. The expression is determined, like that of one who means to keep what he has at all costs. The mental mood would therefore be precisely that which would explain the somewhat emphasized "grip" with which the woman is held, and would also account for, and indeed render necessary from the artistic point of view, some slight exaggeration of certain anatomical details. ¶ The writer is content to believe that the predominating characteristics of the work point more strongly to its having come from the hands of John of Bologna in his early period than from any other source; the alternative being to attribute it to the earlier times of Benvenuto Cellini. In any case it is a work of art of the highest interest and value, as well as one of singular charm and beauty, by a master of the period when Italian art was rapidly pass-

ing into complete decadence; one of the small number of men of much ability, if not of actual genius, who, resisting, so far as their power admitted, the rising tide of vulgarity and commonplace in artistic taste, were able to produce works of refinement and merit, some of which survive to be found amongst the most valued possessions of the discriminating collectors of to-day.

W. H. B.

A DRAWING BY HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE



WE hope to deal fully in our next number with the recently published "Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth," edited by Mr. S. Arthur Strong, Librarian at Chatsworth, who contributes to it an interesting introduction, with notes on the seventy drawings reproduced. Meanwhile we are able, by the kindness of the Publishers, Messrs. Duckworth and Co., to reproduce one of the most important and attractive of these drawings, a portrait of a man by Holbein. Our reproduction is printed by exactly the same process as was used for the reproductions in the book, and it may therefore serve for those who have not seen the book as an example of the extraordinary care and accuracy with which the reproductions have been made. They can indeed be described as facsimiles in the literal sense of that term, and anyone who placed the accompanying plate by the side of Holbein's original drawing would admit that it is impossible to come nearer to the original. The extraordinary success which has been achieved in recent years in this matter of reproduction is of incalculable value to the student of art; the very fact that the process is almost entirely mechanical is its recommen-

duction, for the aim of reproduction is to give us the original and not an interpretation by someone else of the artist's work. The further the process of mechanical reproduction is carried, and the more the intervention of the human agent is eliminated, the nearer we draw to an exact facsimile of the original. We may justly anticipate in the future practical results of the highest value from modern processes of reproduction, in the form of greatly increased knowledge of works of art and greatly improved taste. Hitherto, in the case of most people, opportunities of seeing the actual work of great masters have been limited; if these works can be reproduced in such a way as to give a really satisfactory idea of the original, they cannot fail to become better known and to have an elevating effect on artistic taste. The *Chatsworth Drawings* is not indeed a book for the multitude; its price prevents it from being so; but those who are fortunate enough to possess it will for all practical purposes be under very little disadvantage as compared with the still more fortunate owner of the original drawings. ¶ The drawing here reproduced belongs, as Mr. Strong says in his introduction, to Holbein's early time. It is outlined in black with the point of the brush on flesh-coloured paper, with a spot of red here and there. That it is a masterpiece everyone can see for himself, and it would be a waste of time to expatiate on its superb qualities. Mr. Strong does not go too far when he says that in this drawing "Holbein seems to reach the highest point attainable by human faculty within the chosen limits." And many will agree with him even when he says: "By the side of such work as this, Leonardo da Vinci must appear almost conventional, almost effeminate." Perhaps there is none among the masters of Northern Europe who could attain to such a height of excellence as Holbein reaches in this drawing. It only remains to add that the reproduction is the same size as the original, and has, therefore, lost nothing in translation.

TWO POLYCHROME STATUES IN CARVED WOOD

No branch of artistic industry did the French artist of the fourteenth century reach a higher plane than in the fashioning of those splendid wood-carvings, many of which still embellish the churches of France. In the great majority of cases, the artist has relied simply upon his skill in wood-carving, and has not attempted any colour decoration to relieve the sombreness of the effect. In this fine Virgin and Child we have an example of the rarer variety of polychrome decoration. The feeling which pervades the whole statue is characteristic of fourteenth-century French Art, both as regards pose and drapery. The habit is of gold with remains of blue ornamentation at the border, and red round the neck, whilst the drapery, which falls gracefully from the crown, covering the shoulders, was originally of dark blue. The gilt crown studded with green is admirably contrasted with the dark red tone of the heads of both mother and child, and a dominant note is struck by the strong green of the feet which peer from beneath the robe. A remarkable feature is to be found in the care and grace with which the hands are treated. ¶ In that great epoch of Italian Art, the fifteenth century, there was no figure which was rendered with more passionate and holy fervour than that of the *Mater Dolorosa*. Whether they represented her in the manger at Bethlehem, at the foot of the Cross, or at the entombment of our Lord, each of the artists of Catholic Italy poured forth the whole of his energy and talent to render with pathetic realism the tragedy of her life. They portray her with a grief which is at once human and divine: human in the sense of the mother who witnesses the sadness of the earthly life of her Son, culminating in a cruel death, which she knows is as agonizing as it



W. G. A. S. L.

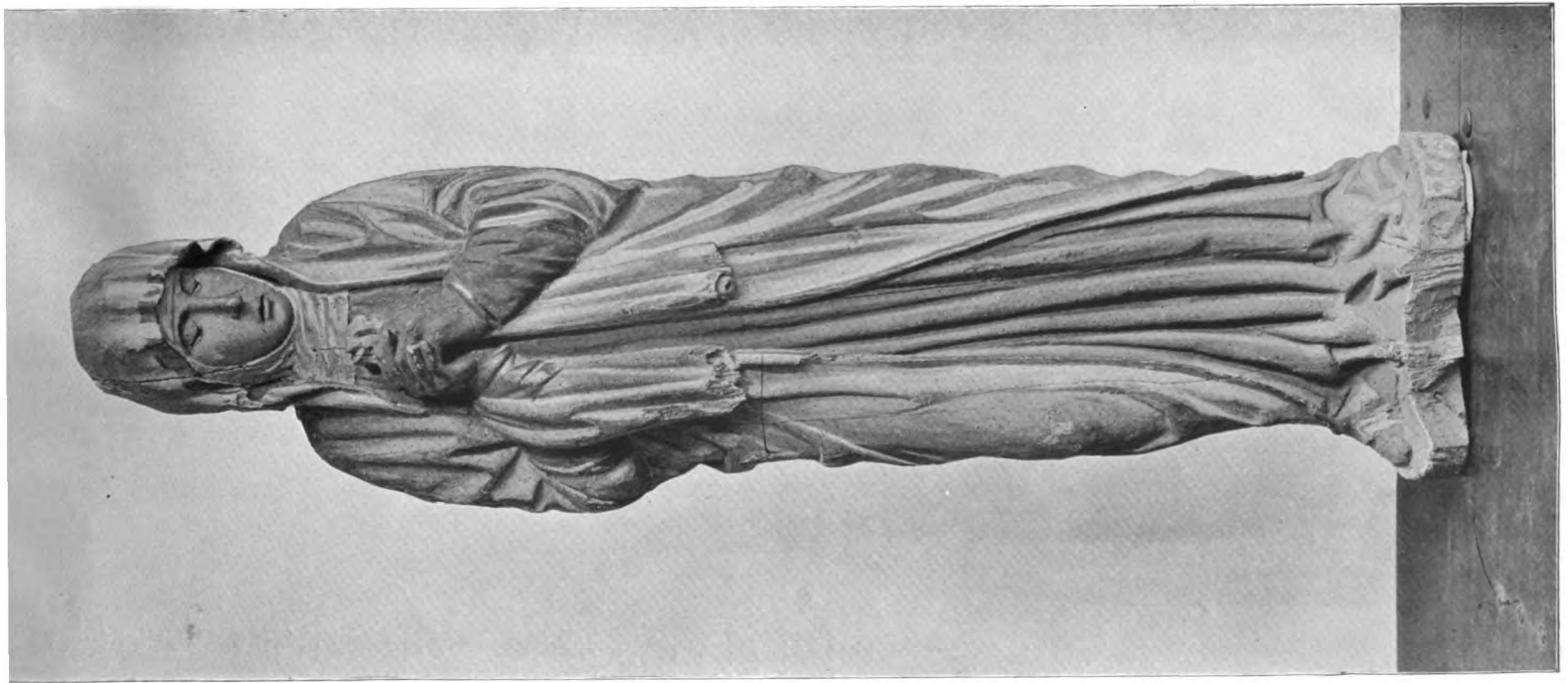
PORTRAIT OF A MAN, FROM THE DRAWING BY HANS HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.



POLYCHROME CARVED WOOD STATUE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN,
PROBABLY FROM A ROOD LOFT; TUSCAN WORK OF THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS LOWENGLAND



POLYCHROME CARVED WOOD STATUE OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD;
FRENCH WORK OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. IN THE POSSESSION



POLYCHROME CARVED WOOD STATUE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN,
PROBABLY FROM A ROOD LOFT; TUSCAN WORK OF THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS FOURMIGLIERE



POLYCHROME CARVED WOOD STATUE OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD;
FRENCH WORK OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. IN THE POSSESSION



VIRGIN AND CHILD, SURROUNDED BY ANGELS; TERRA COTTA, PAINTED BY ANTONIO ROSSELLINO, IN CONTEMPORARY FRAME. IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. LOWENGARDE



GOthic COFFER; GERMAN WORK OF THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. LOWENGARDE

is unjust ; divine in the pitiful sorrow with which she regards the depths to which human ingratitude can sink. ¶ Such a rendering we have in the other wooden figure illustrated. It is executed in the purest Tuscan manner. The long sweep of the blue and red drapery, which round the edges and at the cuffs is heightened with gold, hides the whole of the figure save the arms and the left leg, the latter slightly bent at the knee in graceful repose. The face full of heart-rending sorrow, and the hands clasped in mingled adoration and despair complete a figure worthy of one of the foremost masters of the period.

A TERRA-COTTA BY ROSSELLINO



OF the two great pupils of Donatello—Antonio Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano—the former was certainly the more original genius; he owed little to his great master. Donatello, with his masculine force and dominating energy, made but little impression, save technically, on his pupil. Rossellino's tender sweetness of handling found more encouragement in the decadent state of society at that time existing in Florence than the robust style of Donatello would have done. He seems to have been appreciated, not only by his contemporaries, but by his immediate successors. Vasari eulogizes him in these terms :—" His works display such refinement and delicacy, and are so highly and perfectly finished, that his may be justly called the really true modern style." We have before us a very characteristic terracotta which shows the Florentine at his best. The Virgin is seated in the clouds, holding the infant on her knee, surrounded by a group of seven adoring cherubim, and in the background is the deep blue Italian sky. The Virgin, whose whole attitude is one of tender reverence, is clothed in a red robe *semée* with flowers in gold, and over her

knees is a deep blue cloth, upon which is the cushion forming a seat for the infant. Above the Virgin is the symbolical dove. The picture is framed in a contemporary gilt frame, dark green and gold, the base being relieved by carved ornament, embellished with two paintings of great beauty and spirit.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY COFFER



It is much to be regretted that few of the artists in wood-carving who existed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have left any trace of their identity. Whether this arose from a commendable spirit of modesty, or whether the carver in wood had not an equal dignity with that of the worker in other artistic mediums of the age, is doubtful. Still, for decorative effect, and where the case demanded it, for grotesqueness of design, they attained a degree of perfection which has never been surpassed. In the coffer here illustrated, one is impressed by the rhythm and appropriateness of the composition. The carving presents an extraordinary unity of effect, and the quality and technique upon a close examination must excite admiration. The coffer, in spite of the vicissitudes which such a large object must have suffered through the centuries since its creation, is in a fine state of preservation; there is no blemish on any material part to mar its beauty.

A STATUETTE BY PIGALLE, AND SOME CHELSEA VASES



THE marble statuette by the French sculptor, Jean Baptiste Pigalle, which, by the kindness of Messrs. Duveen, we are able to reproduce, is a fine specimen of that artist's work. It was purchased from the descendants of

The Burlington Magazine the sculptor and is signed, and dated 1784, so that it was produced when Pigalle was seventy years old and only a year before his death. There is in the Louvre a similar statuette, to which indeed this may be said to be a pendant. ¶To the same owners belong the remarkable Chelsea vases which are also reproduced. We do not pretend fully to understand the present craze for Chelsea china, or the enormous prices paid for it; neither in form nor in decoration does it seem to us of the highest artistic merit, or at all comparable to Chinese porcelain, for instance. But nobody can deny that it is a triumph of ceramic skill, and that its glaze is marvellous; and it cannot be doubted that these vases are as fine examples of their kind as could be found. They all came from the collection of Lord Henry Thynne. The two in the uppermost illustration on the plate are single examples of two pairs, each 16 ins. high; the ground of one is dark blue, and of the other rose, and they are decorated with panels painted by Roubillac, the scroll work being richly gilded. The other two vases illustrated are a pair in rose, with painted panels of a similar character.

TWO PICTURES BY HENRY MORLAND

THE two pictures, which, by the kind permission of Mr. Asher Wertheimer, we are enabled to reproduce, are among the best known of Henry Morland's works, having been engraved more than once; indeed, mezzotints after them by F. E. Dawe were sold at Christie's three weeks ago. Henry Morland was a much less prolific painter than his better known son George, whose works are now in such great demand. These portraits of two famous beauties bear the same relation to real laundry maids as do Watteau's shepherdesses to their prototypes in real life. As will be seen, Henry Morland's work shows striking traces of French influence; indeed, these pictures might almost be taken for the work of a Frenchman. They are not, of course, of the highest merit as works of art; but, nevertheless, in spite of a certain hardness, they are not without attractions of their own.



THE PUTTO OF THE MONUMENTAL



MARBLE STATUETTE BY JEAN BAPTISTE PIGALLE IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. DUVEEN BROS.



CHELSEA CHINA IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. DUVEEN BROS.



CHELSEA CHINA IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. DUVEEN BROS.



**PORTRAIT OF MISS GUNNING, AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF COVENTRY, BY H. MORLAND, ENTITLED
 "IRONING"; IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. ASHER WERTHEIMER**



**PORTRAIT OF MISS GUNNING, AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF HAMILTON, BY H. MORLAND, ENTITLED
 "WASHING"; IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. ASHER WERTHEIMER**

CLIFFORD'S INN

✚ WRITTEN BY PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A., AND ILLUSTRATED
WITH DRAWINGS BY F. L. GRIGGS ✚

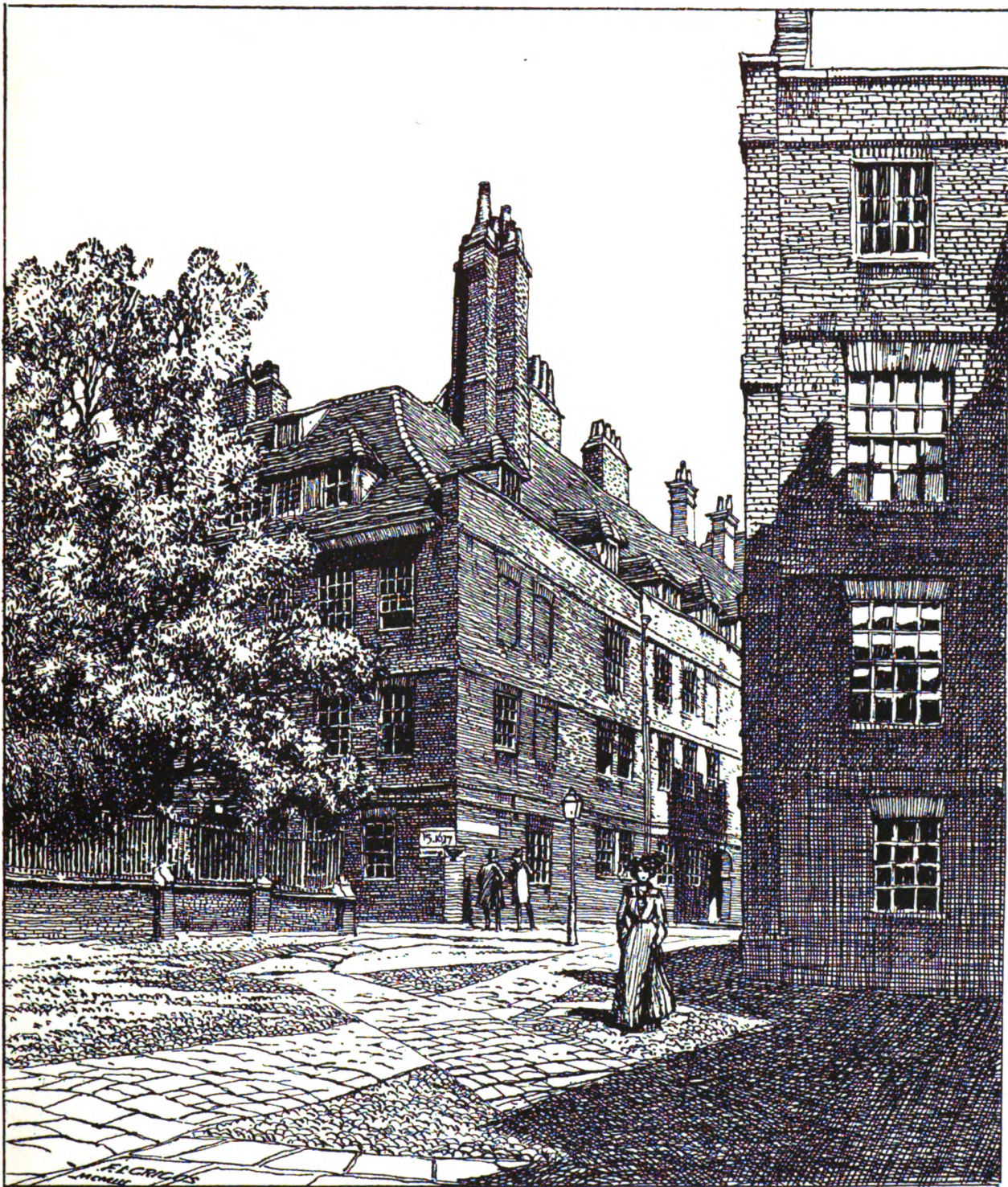


CLIFFORD'S INN, Fleet Street, the fate of which now hangs on the balance, is the last of our old inns of Chancery, and, like Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and Furnival's Inn, originally grew up in or near the house of a great nobleman. From an original document, dated February 24, 1310, it appears that the king on that day granted to Robert de Clifford, fifth Baron Clifford by tenure, and the first by writ, a "messuage with the appurtenances next to the church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the suburb of London," which had come into the possession of the king's father, Edward I, and had lately been held by John de Brittany, but was then in the king's own hands. This Robert de Clifford was a gallant soldier and a man of great influence and wealth, who lost his life at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, having on the previous day been defeated in an attempt to relieve Stirling. By his wife Maude de Clare he left two sons, Roger and Robert. The former was attainted and left no issue, but the lands of the family passed to his brother Robert, who died in 1344 leaving a widow Isabel, daughter of Maurice Lord Berkeley, and she, immediately after her husband's death, demised the said messuage to "students of the law" for a rent of £10 a year. This reference to students of the law seems to be the earliest existing record of the Society of Clifford's Inn, but whether it at once became a formally constituted body we are now unable to determine. Except for a short time after the attainder of John, ninth Baron Clifford, a vehement and cruel Lancastrian, the house continued to belong to the de Clifford family, being however, it is thought, always used as an Inn of

Chancery after the original demise of Isabel de Clifford. ¶ Although subordinate to the greater Inns, the Inns of Chancery once played an important part as preliminary schools for the practice of the law. Chief Justice Fortescue, writing in the sixth year of the reign of Henry VI, has placed it on record that there were then four Inns of Court, as is still the case, each containing as many as 200 persons, and no less than ten Inns of Chancery, having in each of them about 100, and he speaks of the latter, equally with the Inns of Court, as belonging to the "Lawyers' University." Stow, at the end of the sixteenth century, gives a curious account of both Inns of Court and Chancery. Of the latter, he says that they are chiefly furnished with officers, attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, who "follow the Courts of the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and yet there want not some other being young students, that come thither sometimes from one of the Universities and sometimes immediately from grammar schools; and these, having spent some time in studying upon the first elements and grounds of the law, and having performed the exercise of their own houses called Boltas Mootes (disputations) and putting of cases, they proceed to be admitted and become students in some of these four houses or Inns of Court." Thus the famous Coke in 1571, being then nineteen years of age, went to reside at Clifford's Inn, and in the following year, as Fuller tells us, he was "entered as student of the municipal law in the Inner Temple," to which Clifford's Inn was attached. John Selden followed his example, entering at Clifford's Inn in 1602, and at the Inner Temple two years afterwards. In 1574 the judges ordered that every utter barrister

should, for three years after he was called, attend "ordinary mootings and other exercises of learning both in Court and Chancery," and no one was then allowed to plead in a Court at Westminster unless he was either a reader or benchman in an Inn of Court, an utter barrister of five years' standing, or a reader in an Inn of Chancery for two years at least. But from the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Inns of Chancery began to go out of fashion as legal seminaries; and though they were always connected with the law, and, almost to the last, traces remained of the former system of legal study, they by degrees, perhaps inevitably, left off fulfilling a main object of their original foundation. ¶ The earliest record in the possession of the Society of Clifford's Inn is a copy and translation of some ancient rules, which in part at least date from the time of King Edward IV, for one of them is expressly said to have been formulated in the eighteenth year of his reign. They are forty-seven in number, and the volume containing them begins as follows: "These are the Rules and Regulations for the Honourable Government of the New Inn near Chancery Lane, made to be kept and preserved; and Renewed and Written afresh in Cliffords Inn in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in the time of Lawrence Hollands being Principal, and again newly transcribed in the Twentieth year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, Hugh Goodman being Principal." These rules throw an interesting light on the early conditions of the Inn, on the manners and customs of our ancestors, and on the value of money—presumably in the fifteenth century; we will venture to quote from a few of them. ¶ By Rule 4 the steward for the time being is ordered to shut the gates of the Inn, or cause them to be shut, at nine o'clock in general, at the latest between nine and ten. The dinner time to be during vacation at "eleven of the clock," in the term at noon, and in summer always at six. Rule 8 runs as fol-

lows: "Item, if any member shall make noise or disturbance in the time or times of grace, the publick examination of Writts, Declarations at the opening of a Court Baron, or bring any strange man into the Butterie or Pantry in the time of dinner or supper to drink, he shall pay for every time 6 pence." The next rule provides that members of the Society, who joined it preparatory to the practice of the law, should not be allowed, under penalty of expulsion, to employ themselves in any other trade or business "notwithstanding the same be honest." Under Rule 11 a member could be fined one farthing for each word of ribaldry spoken in the hall during dinner or supper. Rule 14 ordains that any member striking another member "with his fist, cudgel, knife, dagger, or other weapon, without effusion of blood, shall pay for every such offence twelve pence and shall make amends; but if he strikes to the effusion of blood he shall make amends to the party at the discretion of the Principal, and shall pay to the Society six shillings and eight pence, and repeating such behaviour shall be expelled and put out of y^e Inn." A fine is also fixed for any member who shall persuade or compel another member to sally forth from the Inn for purposes of revenge. ¶ Each member is to pay thirteen pence for vessels of pewter, and is bound to have in the kitchen "two plates and dishes of pewter every day for his own use." He shall not break into the buttery or through the gates after they have been shut, or disgrace the Inn by bringing into it or concealing therein any common woman. By Rule 22 it is ordered that every member of the Society, as well as those who reside at the Inn, as "those who live in the City between St. Paul and Temple Bar, shall be in Commons except for reasonable and necessary cause appearing to the Principal or his lawful Deputy or Council." Members were not to play at or keep "any dice, cards, tables, piquet, or any ridiculous amusements in metalls, coites, or other unlawful game,



CLIFFORD'S INN, LOOKING NORTH EAST.

within the same Inn or without, privately or openly, at any times or time, or in the times of Christmas or Candlemas, without the consent of the Principal and the whole of the Council"; and there is a separate order against "the game called newfaire." Other rules were against the mortgaging of goods; that no member should lend on usury; or "receive, keep, or bring into the Inn any dog called a greyhound, grey bitch, spaniel, or mastiff," under penalty for a first offence of forty pence; or write, cut, or scratch upon the tables in the Hall; or damage the gardens, or take, without leave of the Principal, the fruit or herbage growing therein. Rule 40 shows the various kinds of legal study then enforced. It runs thus: "Item, it is provided that if any common pensioner, being in Commons and laying within the same Inn, be absent at a Reading upon a Writ he shall forfeit one farthing, and for one Lecture a half penny, and 1 Moote 1 penny, and one Report a halfpenny, to the use of the Society; and also, if any erudition on a Writ, Lecture, Moote, or Report shall be lost by the default of him who is so absent, he shall pay for a Writ 6 pence, for a Moote in term time 20 pence, for a Report 6 pence, and for a Moote in the time of vacation 3s. 4d.; and all these forfeitures shall be for the use and benefit of the Society." Rule 44 shows that (besides the Principal and Council) there were two classes of junior members, some being styled gentlemen commoners, who probably paid more than the others, and were exempt from certain offices and exercises. In Rule 44 we are told that "every common pensioner of the Inn, who shall be admitted into the same for the space of one half year, from that day forward shall be obliged in his turn to carry on all manner of learning in the same Inn that appertains to an Inner Barrister, without any request to be made by him to the Principal to oblige any other member to officiate for him; and every member aforesaid that shall be of the Society of the said Inn, and admitted within the

same for one year and one day, from that day forwards shall likewise be obliged in his turn to carry on all manner of erudition or learning of the said Inn that appertains to an Outward Barrister." ¶ On March 29, 1618, the Society of Clifford's Inn purchased, for the sum of £600, from Francis, 4th Earl of Cumberland, and Lord Clifford, his son and heir, "the capital messuage commonly called Clifford's Inn." The grant is in various ways an interesting document. Thus the Clifford family seem to have been looked upon as to some extent the founders of this legal society, for it is recited that the house had, by the allowance of the Earl and his ancestors, been for many years used as an Inn of Chancery, and governed in very good sort and discretion, "to the honor of the said Earle and Lord Clifford and their ancestors," and the vendors express their desire that it shall "for ever hereafter contynue and be employed as an Inn of Chancery for the furtherance of the Practisers and Students of the Common Lawes of the Realme;" and it was agreed that it should so continue and be employed "for the good of the gentlemen of the Society and the benefit of the commonwealth." It was also for ever to retain the "usuall and antient name" of Clifford's Inn. There are three reservations in this grant. On the west side of the garden, adjoining Serjeants' Inn, Chancery Lane, and where it touched the borders of the Rolls House property, a strip of land 22 feet wide and 134 feet long, with the trees upon it, was to be "kept and maynteyned by the Earle and Lord Clifford, their heirs and assignes"; and this strip was afterwards sold by the Cliffords to the representatives of Serjeants' Inn. A rent-charge of £4 a year was also reserved, and the Cliffords kept a set of chambers in the Inn "for any person, being at that tyme a fellow, as he or they or any of them shall employ in their affayres and other occasions about London, and against whome there shall be noe just cause of exception." Before quitting this branch of the subject we may

here remark that Francis, Earl of Cumberland, who thus sold Clifford's Inn, was ninth in descent from Robert de Clifford, the original grantee. The Earldom became extinct in the next generation, but his son Henry left a daughter, who married Richard Boyle, first Earl of Burlington. From the daughter and heiress of the third Earl, who is so well remembered for his taste and knowledge of architecture, the small rights in Clifford's Inn retained by the Clifford family were conveyed to the Cavendishes. The rent-charge on Clifford's Inn of £4 a year, with the nomination for the chambers, continued to belong to them until the year 1880, when it was bought by the Society from the father of the present Duke of Devonshire. ¶ The still existing minute books of the Society go back to the year 1609, and do not record the whole of its transactions. For instance, there are no entries as to the purchase of the property in 1618, or of the circumstances leading up to it. We will preface some extracts from them by remarks on the constitution and customs of the Society as therein made manifest. It seems that there was a general body of residents in the Inn, usually called fellows, who were admitted first as "fellows of the house" and afterwards to a set or half a set of chambers therein, on payment of a fine. Sometimes the admissions to the Society and to chambers were made simultaneously; where a set of chambers had two occupants they were called chamber fellows. These ordinary members were presided over by the governing body, called the Principal and Council, the latter being afterwards called the Rules, a word, however, which occurs as early as the year 1609; the name Ancients was also sometimes applied to them. There appear to have been always twelve members of the Council in addition to the Principal. ¶ The members of the Council were elected by themselves from fellows of the Society, and they possessed certain privileges. They were admitted to chambers without fine; they held chambers "solely if they so pleased," they dined in commons

at a separate or "upper table," and were exempt from various duties which the other members had to fulfil in turn. The right of succession to the office of Rule or Ancient of the Society, vacant by the death, resignation, or other cause, of any person holding that office, was vested in such member of the second, or junior table, being a fellow, who should be duly elected to such vacancy by the majority of the Principal and Rules at a "Parliament" (or meeting) duly convened for that purpose, provided that he was at the time of his election, or previously thereto, an utter barrister, or person of higher degree in the profession of the law, or an attorney duly admitted in one of the four superior Courts in Westminster Hall, and that he was the owner of a set of chambers in the House of this Society for the term of his own life at the least. ¶ The Principal at first enjoyed considerable powers and emoluments. His election took place in the Hall, the whole of the members being allowed to vote, and this appears to be the sole business of the Society in which the ordinary members or fellows had any voice whatever. He had originally the right of nomination to eighteen sets of chambers, and of taking fines on admission thereto. He also took one-third of the fines on admission to other chambers belonging to the Society, 10s. out of every 40s. received for a special admittance of a member, and 8s. 11d. out of every 10s. received for a general admittance. He was allowed 12d. in every 20s. paid to the brewer and baker for beer and bread spent in Commons. He had the disposition of Moote chambers (of which in 1632 there were eleven, but by 1675 four only), taking 10s. for a pair of gloves from each person admitted to such chambers, and he appointed the officers or servants of the House. He had general supervision of the affairs of the House, and the keeping of the accounts and records of the Society. As time went on the pecuniary advantages attached to the office of Principal were largely curtailed,

more than once on his own initiative. He was at first elected for life, but after an order of June 15, 1668, he was elected for three years only, and this order remained permanently in force. His election took place in Trinity term every third year; it was, however, the invariable custom to re-elect the out-going Principal until death or physical infirmity rendered the office vacant. In fact, from the date of that order in 1668 until the death of the last Principal in 1890, only twenty-one persons served the office. ¶ In the seventeenth century members generally kept Commons throughout each term, but sometimes they neglected this duty. By an order of 1617, it was decreed that for the future every member should be in Commons two whole weeks at least in Michaelmas term, and one whole week at least in every other term of the year, or forfeit his chambers. Every member except the Principal and Rules had to take in turn for a week the office of steward. Certain fees were payable by each one for "Commons, pensions and duties," and on admission to the Society, each had to give a bond with sureties for the due payment of these fees. What they amounted to originally does not appear, but when they were abolished in February, 1883, the "annual dues," as they were then termed, were £1 15s. a year for holders of chambers, and £1 2s. for other members. ¶ At first, an admission to chambers appears to have been only for the life of the person, and none but members were admitted. After the purchase of the property in 1618, many of the chambers were rebuilt by individual members at their own cost, and upon their formal admission to such new chambers, they received a grant of the

same for one, and in some cases, two lives beyond their own. From time to time other chambers were rebuilt, especially after the Great Fire, and the same course was pursued in respect of admission to these chambers of members who had contributed to the cost of rebuilding. Until about 1683 it was stipulated that the additional lives should be restricted to fellows of the Society, but in that year a grant of chambers was made to a member for two lives after his own without any such restriction, in consideration of a payment of £45; and many instances occur of members, already admitted to chambers for their own lives, being granted an additional life or lives on payment of a sum of money. The practice of making grants for lives not restricted to



Passage from Outer Court into Garden, Clifford's Inn.

members of the Society had the effect of bringing into the Inn persons who refused to become members, and who thus enjoyed all the advantages of lighting, watching, and cleansing of the Inn, without contributing to the expense incurred for these purposes. An entry in the minutes of 1705 shows that there were then several non-members living in chambers, and efforts were made then, and again in 1726, to oblige all residents to join the Society. In 1768 the question again cropped up, and the Principal and Rules took counsel's opinion as to whether the Society could compel residents to become members, but the opinion was adverse. The Principal and Council seem after this to have given up the idea of obliging any resident to join. In 1788 it was ordered that all future admissions should be only for the life of the person admitted, and that became a permanent custom. ¶ The admission to residence of persons who were not members, by degrees quite altered the character of the Society. The number of members decreased until we find that in 1783 there were fifty-five only, many of whom were non-resident; and in the minutes of May 24, 1830, there is an order that the junior members, or "Kentish Mess" as they were then called, should be limited to fifteen. The senior members always remained the same, consisting of the Principal and twelve Rules. The first reference to junior fellows as the "Kentish Mess" occurs in the minutes of June 22, 1782, and it is interesting to note that they are indexed as "the Junior Table, vulgarly called the Kentish Mess." On the origin of the word "Kentish" as applied to them, no information is forthcoming. ¶ The following extracts from the minute books will afford us some useful information. November 23, 1610. "Yt is ordered by the principall and councell—that no fellowe of thys house shall at any tyme of Assemblye in the hall of thys house to meales, exercise of learning, or any other ordinary occasion, after the publication of

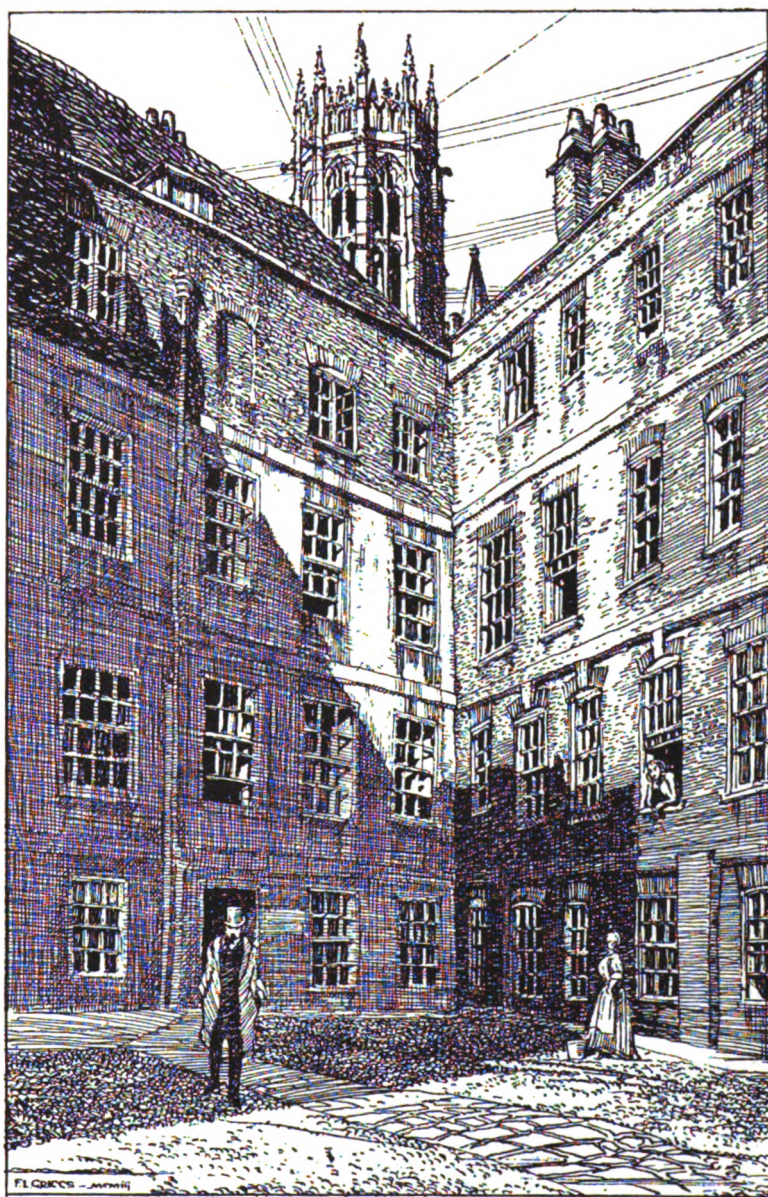
this order, weare any hatt in the hall uppon payn of forfeiture for the first offence vj^d., for the second offence xij^d., and for the third offence to be putt out of Comons, excepte at suche time after solempne revells ended as there shalbe dauncynge in the hall." ¶ An entry of February 4, 1613, seems to indicate that according to the old fashion there was a hearth in the centre of the hall, the smoke no doubt escaping by a louvre, as must have been the case originally at Barnard's Inn Hall, where the louvre still exists. We are told that two fellows of the Society named Edward Gratwick and Humfry Bohan, "before the gentlemen were risen from dynner, in contemptuous sorte brought into the hall in their hands severall faggotts, and caused other faggotts to be brought in thither, to the affrighting and disturbing of the whole society, and, being required by the Principall and Counsell to dissist, yet in further contempt violently moved the round table then standing on the hearth of the hall, and then layed the same faggotts on the same hearth, where with they caused burning coles to be brought." And when they were "with much adoe restrayned" they tried to light the faggotts at the entrance. For this outrageous conduct the governing body expelled them. We learn that on January 27 of the following year the wages of John Vigbie, one of the butlers, were raised from 4 marks (£2 13s. 4d.) a year to £5, he having served for forty years. ¶ In 1624 there was a slight difficulty about a chapel on the north side of St. Dunstan's church, which the Chancellor to the Bishop of London had given the members of the Society permission to use. It seems that the parishioners had not consented, and they claimed that the permission should be withdrawn; so the Chancellor appointed three parishioners and three Rules of the Society to consider the matter. Regardless of sanitation they agreed that the Society should be allowed the use of the chapel on condition that they seated it and left space for burials.



CLIFFORD'S INN, LOOKING NORTH.

The seats also were to be so placed that they could easily be removed, in order that burials might take place underneath. ¶ November 30, 1632. "William Cropp, Gent., late one of the fellowes of this Society, by his last will and testament in writing, in anno 1631, gave towards beautifying and amendment of this hall £20. It was agreed that, with other moneys, it should be bestowed on boarding said hall with planks, being before a cold earthen floor." ¶ July 7, 1633. "The Principal is often destitute of Company at meals in the Common dyninge hall. It shall be lawful for him and his deputy to fine fellowes for not attending." ¶ In 1665, the year of the Great Plague, there were no entries. Reference is afterwards made to "the late troubles." In May 1668, the gift of a "great silver salt, and a little silver salt," to be used at meals, is recorded. ¶ June 25, 1669. "After long debate of the offence committed by Mr. John Ferrers, a fellowe of this House, in striking Mr. Symon Mountford, another Fellowe thereof, on the Head with a Pewter Pott in the Kitchine of this House, when the rest of the Fellowes of this Society were at Supper in the Hall, contrary to the orders of this Society, and to the greate scandall and disturbance thereof, and Mr. Ferrers being heard therein and makeing a free and submissive acknowledgement of this his offence before the Principall and Rules of this Society, and wholly submitting himselfe therein to them, they have thought fitt and hereby doe sett and impose a Fyne of Fifty shillings upon the said John Ferrers for his offence aforesaid, so farre as it concernes this House and is contrary to the Orders made for the well government thereof." ¶ On February 11, 1670, Francis Reading

and John Anderton, fellowes, were fined 2s. 6d. Clifford's each for making default in the exercise of Inn "inner barristers" at a moot in the Hall, but on their humble suit the fines were reduced to one shilling each. Another man was fined for default as an "utter barrister." ¶ On June 24 of the same year, at the request of Sir John Howell, Recorder, the Principal and Council of the Society agreed "that the Reverend Judges of this land may, at their pleasures, freely use and sitt in the hall of this Society, for the hearing and



A Corner of Clifford's Inn.

determining of all Causes for or concerning the Rebuilding of the said Citty, whereunto they are empowered by any Act of Parliament now in being." Accordingly Sir Matthew Hale and other principal judges sat there to settle all disputes about boundaries, etc., arising out of the Great Fire. This difficult task they performed so well that their portraits were painted for the Corporation and placed in the Guildhall, where they still remain. ¶ November 19, 1686. Judge Jeffreys, then Lord Chancellor, was unanimously elected a Rule of the Society, the Principal having declared that he was willing to be admitted. ¶ May 8, 1719. "Whereas informacon hath been given unto the Principal and Rules of this Society that the Marshalsea Court Office is intended to be removed into and kept and executed in this Inne, which will prove very inconvenient to the members of this Society, and will also be of dangerous consequence to them, by reason of the great number of Bayliffs and their followers, and other mean and loose ordinary persons, that resort to the s^d Office, whereby the Chambers in the Inne may be much more in danger of being robbed than they now are, and the Gentlemen of this Society disturbed in their business by the clamorous Noise and Quarrells usually occasioned between those people resorting to the said Office. Now therefore upon the application of severall Members of this Society representing the inconvenience that may arise to them and the whole Society if the said Office should be removed into and kept in the said Inne; it is this day thought fitt and ordered by the Principall and Rules that the said Office shall not be executed in this Inne, and that the Butler is hereby required to give notice of this order to Mr. Edward Gilbourne, Secondary of y^e s^d Marshall's Court." This was the office of the Marshalsea Court, also sometimes called the Palace Court. It could hardly, one would think, have been then established at the Inn in defiance of this order; but many years afterwards, namely,

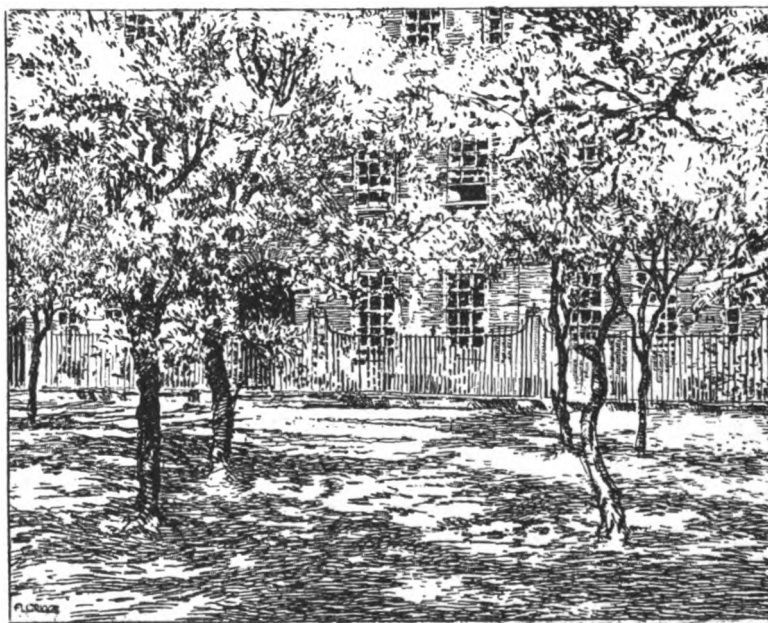
on September 1, 1795, it was certainly there, a complaint being then made that several officers of the Palace Court and their followers were in the habit of assembling at Clifford's Inn, and using it "as a place of rendezvous, to the great annoyance, not only of the Society itself, but (by their noisy and improper behaviour) of other persons, and of Females passing through the same, contrary to all decency and to the former established Rules of this Society." They were therefore warned not to stay longer than their business required. The Principal also announced that "at the instance of many members of the House, including several attorneys practising in the Palace Court," he had some time previously caused a notice to be stuck up "in the Public Office of the Palace Court in this Inn," stating his grounds of complaint against the officers of the Court; and this notice having had no effect, he would at once write to Sir John Rose, Judge of the Palace Court, begging him to exert his authority that the nuisance might be removed. However, as late as October 3, 1822, a proposal was submitted to the governing body that "a shop and premises now in the possession of Mr. Johnson the Taylor, adjoining the garden, might be sold to one of the Rules for the purpose of being pulled down, and on the site thereof a public office erected" for the use of certain officers of the Marshalsea Court. The proposal was unanimously rejected. ¶ May 6, 1729. It was ordered that the butler should inspect the chambers of Mr. Benn, "where Mr. White now lodges and refuses to be admitted of the Society, and see if there be any communication between these Chambers and the Hen and Chicken Ale house, for the private conveyance of things to and from the ale house." ¶ In 1754 and 1755 the Inn was repaired at an expense of £990 4s. 5d., and in 1766 the authorities considered the question of building a new Common Hall. The first reference is on February 20, 1766, when it was agreed to



NO. 8, CLIFFORD'S INN, AND HALL ON LEFT.

order alternative estimates and plans, one for a Hall to be built on the ground where the old Hall was standing, and the other for the erection of a Hall in the garden. On March 4, 1766, the two plans, by Messrs. Holney and Clarke, bricklayers to the Society, were produced, and some objections being made to them, it was decided to apply for a plan made some time previously by Mr. Burnell, of Fleet Street, carpenter. On February 26, 1767, it was decided "that a new Hall be built where the old one stands, or a little more towards the Garden, according to Mr. Clarke's plan, with three Gothic windows in the north front, and the Principal, or the Principal and any three or more of the Rules, are desired to contract and agree with the said Mr. Clarke, the bricklayer to this Society, or any other builder he or they shall think proper, to build the same, provided the estimate does not exceed £800, exclusive of the charge of removing and fitting up the stationer's shop." ¶ On July 23, 1767, the plan, elevation, section, and estimate drawn by Mr. Thomas Clarke for rebuilding the Hall on the old foundation, utilizing to some extent the old walls, and putting three Gothic windows in the north front, at the price of £600, were considered, and the plan was accepted. Next month, however, Clarke informed the Society "that such part of the north front wall of the said Hall that was intended to have been built upon was decayed and unfit, and the same having been viewed and examined by several builders, and they having given their opinion in writing that so much of the north wall as was intended to be built upon having had great numbers of wooden plugs forcibly driven into it, and several breaches made therein, whereby it hath been much shaken and split, and other parts much decayed by time, it would not be safe to erect a new building thereon, and the same ought

to be taken down to the pavement." On Clifford's this information it was ordered by the Inn Principal and Rules "that the whole of the said north front wall be taken down to the pavement, and the new building erected on the old foundations." Later in the year it was arranged with Clarke "that the porch and cupola of the Hall be made after the plans lately drawn by Mr. Gorham, and now produced, being more in the Gothic style and more agreeable to the windows and the rest of the building, than the porch and cupola in the original drawings, and Mr. Clarke agrees to do the same for £10 beyond the estimate." ¶ The Hall thus evolved, though one can hardly say that it has architectural merit, is a pleasant structure, and incorporated in it there is doubtless much medieval work. The old wall is distinctly visible at the east end, where one passes through what is perhaps a fourteenth-century arch, descending by several steps into the narrow chamber once used as the buttery. Outside are the date 1767 and the initial letters ^P W M, referring to the then Principal, William Monk. The Clifford Arms are over the Fleet Street entrance. The Hall has of late years been



Clifford's Inn Garden.

used as a meeting place for the Art Workers' Guild, which claims to have done something for the furtherance of true art in this country. Its list of Masters includes names of high distinction ; William Morris has often sat in the Master's chair, but this was at Barnard's Inn Hall, shortly before the change to Clifford's Inn, which took place at the beginning of 1894. The rest of the precinct consists of brick buildings, court-yards, and an ancient garden adorned by plane trees. The buildings vary in date, the most ancient, in part at least, being No. 12 on the south side, which first saw the light in 1624, and was originally known as Fetherston's building. Nos. 8 and 10, at the east end of the Hall, are also of considerable age. On what appears to be the oldest portion of the latter, facing the garden, is a stone with initials ^P_{JF} and the date 1719, the initials referring to Principal James Foster, but this was put up, not at the time of the original building, but of a subsequent repair. On the east side of the garden is the range of chambers numbered 14 to 17, all dating from about 1663, except the first named, which was built in 1669-70 ; as seen from the garden they form a delightful group. At No. 16, where Messrs. Walker and Cockerell are fitly housed, the London Topographical Society also has its headquarters. The Great Fire of London only missed these chambers by a few yards, for it burned down No. 13, a little further south. At No. 3, in the first court from Fleet Street, and in the rooms occupied by Mr. F. M. Fenn, is some finely-carved woodwork of the Grinling Gibbons style. This part was rebuilt in 1686, No. 1 in 1682, and No. 2 in 1690. Nos. 5, 6, and 7 no longer exist ; the ground on which they stood was required for the rebuilding of St. Dunstan's Church, and they were sold and pulled down in 1830. Perhaps one should add that there are two recognized entrances to Clifford's Inn—the short passage from Fleet Street immediately

west of St. Dunstan's, and an entrance from Fetter Lane. ¶ We must return for a short time to the history of the Inn, as there is still matter of importance to deal with. In 1833 a serious dispute took place as to the election of Principal, Mr. Jessopp, a barrister, trying to turn out a solicitor named Allen, who had been elected. It ended in a law suit, which was tried at the King's Bench in the following year, when Jessopp failed, although he had obtained to some extent the support of the Benchers of the Inner Temple. Clifford's Inn was indeed nominally dependent on the Inner Temple, but it was then declared in court by one of the judges that no instance had been adduced of the governing body of the Inner Temple having at any time exercised authority over it by compulsion. ¶ For many years prior to 1884 the Society of Clifford's Inn was composed of twenty-five members : namely, the President, twelve Rules, and twelve Junior Fellows or Members of the Kentish Mess. The Principal and Rules continued to carry on the management, but in 1884 the Rules and Members of the Kentish Mess were amalgamated. Since then, in fact since 1877, no new member has been admitted into the society. Latterly, until the letting of the Hall, when, at least in the old home, they ceased altogether, the dinners in the Hall were reduced to two in each term. On these occasions it was the custom to perform a curious ceremony. The President for the time being took up four little loaves baked together in the form of a cross ; he knocked them thrice on the table and then slid them down the middle of it. Finally they reached the hands of the porter who, arrayed in his gown, was standing at the other end ; and by him they were removed to the back of the screen. The meaning of this ancient custom is forgotten ; the three knocks may have been symbolical of the Holy Trinity, and the four loaves of the Gospels. Perhaps it was in part originally meant to imply that the fragments of the meal should be

given to the poor. Once a year there was a set speech by the Bursar to the Principal, who replied. The last vestige of the old educational system was the appointment of a reader. The Benchers of the Inner Temple used to send up the names of three men for the office. From them the Principal and Rules selected one, but finally he performed no function beyond dining in Hall. The appointment died a natural death in 1845, although many years afterwards the Benchers offered to suggest the names of gentlemen as readers. ¶ Of literary men who have made Clifford's Inn their home, the names of two are not likely to be forgotten. First in point of time, though not of talent, was George Dyer, Lamb's innocent friend, so charmingly depicted in the *Essays of Elia*, who lived here "like a dove in an asp's nest." His slovenly condition excited the pity of one Mrs. Mather, widow of a solicitor in chambers opposite to Dyer. She took him in hand, married him, and by her care is said to have greatly improved his appearance. Crabbe Robinson saw her as a widow a second time on December 7, 1860. She was then in her 99th year, and vigorous "for her time of life." His friends are still deplored the loss of Samuel Butler, author of *Erewhon*, and of other able works, a highly-gifted man and a delightful companion, who lived for many years at No. 15, finding the seclusion of the old Inn thoroughly congenial to his tastes. ¶ We all know that the members of "the ancient and honourable society" of Clifford's Inn have recently brought a suit in the High Court of Justice to have it decided whether the foundation is affected by a trust for the benefit of anyone besides the members, or whether, as was too readily assumed in the case of certain other Inns of Chancery, the land and buildings were the private property of the members. ¶ In the words of a *Times* correspondent: "Without being called upon to decide the nature and extent of the personal and social bene-

fits which undoubtedly the members were Clifford's entitled to enjoy—the courts declared that Inn the purchase deed of 1618 involved the existence of a trust for such educational purposes as an 'Inn of Chancery' might afford for law students. It is understood that it was thereupon unanimously agreed by the members (who all belong to the legal profession) that the cause of legal education could be better served by disposing of the property, or adapting its use to modern requirements, than by continuing it as an Inn of Chancery in conformity with the original grant. They therefore resolved to terminate the society forthwith, and to sell these historic premises, and place funds at the disposal of the present Attorney-General to be employed in such manner as would in his opinion best meet the modern necessities of legal education." ¶ Arrangements to effect this object have received the sanction of the Court of Chancery, hence the announcement of the sale of Clifford's Inn, which is to take place on May 14. That this time-hallowed spot should be covered with hideous offices and warehouses would be an outrage to all lovers of London; and, apart from sentiment, it would inflict a terrible injury on the neighbouring Record Office, which has been built of late years at great expense, and is now fortunately placed in being secure from fire on this side, and having unobstructed light. The ancient records here gathered together are absolutely priceless, for if once destroyed the chief source from which we derive knowledge of our early history would be lost for ever. It is of the utmost importance that the building which contains them should be isolated. The Government may now acquire land close to what they already possess, which would render the Record Office secure, which might be utilized in a variety of ways, and would become a most valuable national asset. Such an opportunity will perhaps never occur again; we earnestly hope that they will avail themselves of it.

NEW ACQUISITIONS AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS

BRITISH MUSEUM : ACQUISITIONS BY DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

SINCE the removal, in January, of the Exhibition illustrating English Coronations which had occupied the spare show-cases in the King's Library for several months, the commendable practice of exhibiting the more interesting recent acquisitions of the Department of Printed Books has been resumed. No doubt owing to the fact that the Exhibition had been temporarily suspended the twenty-one books shown are of rather more interest than usual. Arranged in order of date they are as follows :—

1. Guarinus Veronensis, *De differentia amici et adulatoris*. Paris : Symonet, Blandin & Simon, c. 1473.

One of the first books of the early Paris press, carried on at the sign of the Soufflet Vert. Printed in a variant of the graceful semi-gothic type first used by Keyser and Stoll.

2. Joannes Regiomontanus, *Tractatus contra Cremonensia*. Nürnberg, c. 1474.

Printed by the author at his private press, with a fine initial of the set copied from those used by Sweynheim and Pannartz at Rome for decorating some copies of their books.

3. Arnaldus de Villa Nova. *Von bereitung vnd bruchung der wein zu gesuntheit der menschen*. Strasburg : Martin Schott, c. 1483.

With a fine decorative border and initial.

4. Augustinus. *De conflictu viciorum et machina virtutum*. Paris : Antoine Caillaut, c. 1484.

With a woodcut of the Saint. One of the earliest non-liturgical books with an illustration printed at Paris. It is notable also for having its title printed on its last page, a fashion which Caillaut sometimes used.

5. *Decretum abbreviatum*. Toulouse : Henr. Mayer, c. 1488.

One of the massive-looking Toulouse books which gave rise to a theory that the place of imprint might have been Tolosa in Spain.

6. *Horæ ad usum Romanum*. Paris : Denis Meslier, c. 1491.

When sold at Sotheby's last year this was described as imperfect and attributed to Antoine Vêrard. It appears to be perfect and to be an undescribed edition from the press of Denis Meslier.

7. *Agenda dioecesis Babenbergensis*. Bamberg, 1492.

Printed in red and black.

Incipit liber beati augustini de conflictu viciorum et machina virtutum.



In apostolica vox clamat per orbem at-
que in proclamo fidei positus ne scru-
tate torpeant / dicens . Omnes qui
pie voluit vivere in christo iesu peca-
tione patiuntur . Ecce quia christiani-
tas in suis principibus iam religio-
sa iam fidei est / desunt pie vincti-
bus in christo iesu . vincula / verba /
flagella / carceres / aculei / cruce / et si qua sunt vincula
contra tormentorum . Quomodo ergo verum erit quod

From Augustinus. *De Conflictu Viciorum*. Paris : A. Caillaut, c. 1484.

8. *Biblia Historiata*. Venice : Guglielmo da trino de Monferato nominato Anima mia, 1493.

One of four copies now known of this fine illustrated edition of the Malermi Bible, issued in rivalry with that published by Giunta.

9. *Constitucions de Cathalunya*. Barcelona : J. Rosembach, 1494.

Printed in red and black, with the fine border used by Spindeler in his edition of "Tirant lo blanch."

10. Bonifacio Perez. *Summa Peregrina*. Sevilla : Meinhard Ungut & Stanislaus, 1498.

A fine example of Spanish printing.

11. Office book of the Compagnia dei Battuti at Bologna. Bologna : Ugo Rugerius, 1498.

Printed in red and black.

12. *Graduale Moguntinense*. Speier : Peter Drach, 1500.

Printed in red and black.

13. Erhart Lurcker. *Geschichte von einem Ritter Thorelle genannt*. Strasburg : J. Knobloch, c. 1517.

A romance in verse, with woodcuts and borders to every page.

ENGLISH.

1. Canutus. A litel boke passing good against Pestilence. London : Machlinia, c. 1485.

One of three editions printed by Machlinia, all very rare, though none of them beautiful.

2. C., T. *An Hospitall for the Diseased*. London, 1579.

A book of curious medical prescriptions.

3. *The First Part of Needlework*. London : W. Barley, 1596.

The second book of the kind printed in England. The designs are Italian.

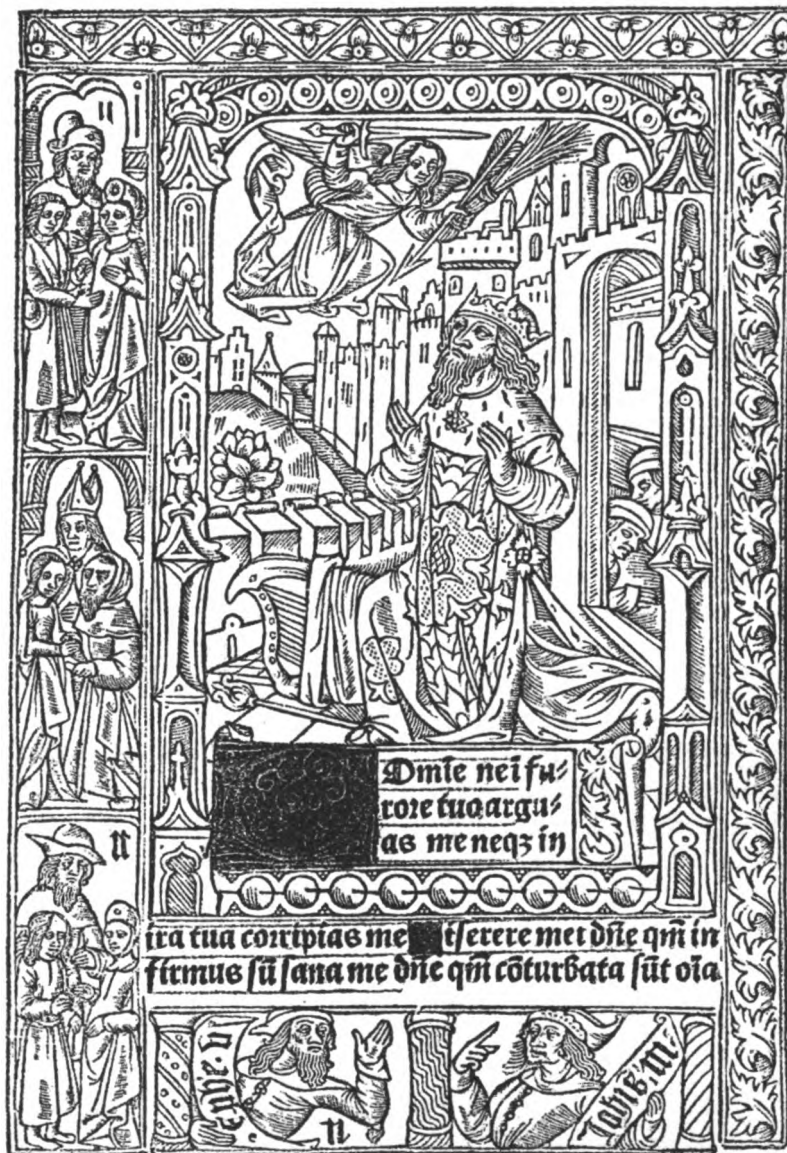
4. Vennard, Richard. *The Right Way to Heaven*. London : T. Este, 1602.

In prose and verse, with borders and initials coloured by hand.

5. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. London, 1618.

Two translations, one literal the other free, prepared by John Brinsley, with notes, for the use of schools.

New Acquisitions at the National Museums



From *Horae ad usum Romanum*. Paris : Denis Meulier, c. 1491.

6. *Sir Bevis of Hampton*. London, c. 1620.

A late copy of an old romance, with cuts which go back much earlier.

7. W., H. *Clasmata*. London, 1626.

A thin volume of verse printed on one side of the leaf only. In the original binding.

8. Goldsmith's *Prospect of Society*. [1765.]

The curious proof sheets of the greater part of "The Traveller," set up throughout in the wrong order.

THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

The temporary corridor leading to the Museum from Exhibition Road is being utilized for the display of a number of pieces of seventeenth-century decorative work, chiefly English, which cannot for the present be well exhibited elsewhere. Prominent among them is an interesting carved stone mantelpiece from an old house in Norwich. Its date is the beginning of the seventeenth century; and its decoration, in somewhat bold relief, of masks and sphinx-like female figures, with the bodies of deer instead of lions, intermingled with sparse and clearly cut foliage, is distinctly reminiscent of the French ornament of an earlier century. Opposite to this, is now shown another carved stone mantelpiece which came from the "Old Palace" at Bromley-by-Bow, a building erected in 1606. Of later date, it is much more characteristically English, and affords a suggestive comparison. ¶ Two important plaster ceilings, one of which is in two portions, are temporarily placed against the wall; but, later on, they will of course be exhibited in a more suitable position. Both are in date near to the year

1600; but here again one finds distinct types, for while the example from the "Reindeer" Inn at Banbury has every space and moulding decorated elaborately with scrolls, foliage, and grotesque men and monsters giving an effect of great richness—the other, also an Oxfordshire specimen from Castle Broughton, has running ornament of flowers and leaves only on its ribs, the body of the compartments being entirely plain. The best of the carved oak pannelling in this part of the Museum is the series from the Abbey House at Waltham Abbey, which is already well known and described. Near the Refreshment Room Corridor is a newly-arranged case which should be of considerable interest to students of costume. It contains a most valuable series of old leather-work, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and including sword belts, sword and dagger sheaths, pouches, and a large series of shoes, with toes varying from extreme points to the fullness which became fashionable in the Tudor period. Even some tiny specimens of children's foot-wear are to be seen, and all kinds of varieties of fastening, from the latchet to the thong.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A HISTORY OF SIENA. By Langton Douglas.

London : John Murray. New York.

Professor Langton Douglas's large and profusely illustrated volume is one of the latest and most important contributions to the continually increasing list of books on the subject of Siena. The author, in making an attempt to cover the entire field of Siena's history, political and social, as well as artistic and literary, has not entirely escaped the dangers and limitations attendant upon so ambitious a task. His treatment of the politics and the commerce of Siena is excellent, but his chapters devoted to art are much less convincing. In careful research and seriousness of purpose Professor Douglas's historical work is eminently to be distinguished from much that has been written of late under the guise of "history." It is clear that he is no mere chronicler, but that he has in him the promise of a genuine historian. Despite the defects of his somewhat journalistic and often irritating style, he keeps the attention of the reader from the beginning to the end of his long and interesting narrative, and impresses him with his ability to hold the threads together and give due weight to each element that went to make up the corporate life of the town. The chapter entitled "A Nation of Shopkeepers" is a particularly interesting study of the part played by financial considerations in the deeds of this eminently warlike and romantic city. The long struggle with Florence, the disastrous victory of Montaperti, the perpetual civic dissensions which early drew down upon Siena the indignant scorn of Dante, and later the well-known criticism of Communes, the changeful constitutional history of the state, the usurpation of Petrucci, the famous siege, and the final capitulation of the "Republic" in 1559—all receive adequate and genial treatment at the writer's hands. Ardent partisan that he is of the people whose romantic story he sets himself to tell, his enthusiasm is tempered throughout with critical judgement and common sense. ¶ The first half of his book being so good, it is all the more regrettable that he should have fallen victim, in the second half, to the fashionable "art microbe" that has wrought such havoc among archivists, pedants, historians, amateurs, and ladies with leanings to culture, impelling them one and all to write glibly upon subjects for which special gifts and special training in connoisseurship are required. Professor Douglas the art critic is, in fact, a very different person

from Professor Douglas the historian. If it were not so, we should pass over this part of his book in silence ; but the excellence of his history compels us to treat his art-criticisms with a certain seriousness. His opinions here are pronounced with remarkable assurance, but they lack consistence, they are often immature, and they betray rather superficial acquaintance with his subject, and a taste as yet undeveloped. Many of his attributions are questionable, and his whole perspective of later Sienese art is wrong. We do not intend to state that the whole of Mr. Douglas's critical work is entirely worthless—there are parts of considerable merit ; but these exceptions only accentuate our disappointment in this section of his book as a whole. ¶ His chapter on the "Architecture of Siena" is the best of this kind. He has made good use of, and perhaps added to, the recent discoveries in connexion with the celebrated façade of the Cathedral, which still passes with many writers as the work of Giovanni Pisano and his contemporaries, although, as Mr. Douglas shows, it could not have been begun prior to 1370. His account of the earlier sculptors, too, including Jacopo della Quercia, is sufficiently correct ; but when he comes to the later sculptors of the fifteenth century, where he had no guide to follow, no authorities to borrow from, but had to rely on his own unaided judgement, he breaks down. He does not in the least realize the importance of Vecchietta's achievements as a sculptor and worker in bronze, but dismisses him in a few brief, unsympathetic phrases. Still less does he understand the character and value of that truly great artist, Neroccio di Landi. This failure to grasp the significance of the work of these two remarkable sculptors, and his surprising statement that Marrina was the only sculptor of the first class that Siena produced after Jacopo della Quercia, would alone be enough to shake our faith in his ability as a critic. His slighting mention of Francesco di Giorgio's exquisite bronze angels goes further to convince us that Professor Douglas does not possess the "eyes that see." ¶ It is, however, in the chapter on "Painting" that the defects of the author's peculiar style of criticism are most apparent. His arguments in favour of Wyckhoff's belief in the early date of Guido's famous Madonna do not add much weight to that writer's opinions ; nor does Mr. Douglas succeed in convincing us by his elaborate but purely external arguments in support of

the theory that Duccio painted the Rucellai Madonna, which, to anyone with a sense of quality as distinct from morphology, is so clearly only of his school. In regard to the great painters of the fourteenth century—Simone and the Lorenzetti—Professor Douglas has little if anything new to tell us. What he says—and this is by far the best part of all his artistic criticism—has already been said in fewer words and better by at least one modern critic, well known to all students of Siena's art. ¶ In his survey of the painters of the Quattrocento our author is in many ways strikingly original. His opinion of Vecchietta as a painter is evidently too strongly influenced by the unfavourable judgement of Crowe and Cavalcaselle to allow him to look fairly at his achievement; but in his "appreciation" of that master's two great pupils, Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio, and their contemporary Benvenuto di Giovanni, he is hampered by no hypnotizing authority. Yet Francesco di Giorgio's productions as a painter are dismissed as lightly as was his work as a sculptor. Strange to say, the only two paintings especially mentioned as being by his hand, and in which "his faults are less glaring," are indisputably by two other masters. His summing up of Neroccio as a painter is perhaps the most remarkable piece of critical incompetence in the whole book. To call this master a "typical decadent"—to accuse him of insincerity and affectation—is to prove oneself a stranger to the essential spirit, not only of that artist's work, but of much of the Sienese painting of the Quattrocento. The judgement of Benvenuto di Giovanni is hardly less remarkable. "Superficial prettiness" and "sugary sentiment" are the qualities assigned by Siena's latest historian to the work of the always winning and at times very serious artist. This is bad enough, but to deny Benvenuto the possession of one of his greatest gifts—that of his splendid colour—can only be due to a grave defect in sight. Judging from the tone of Professor Douglas's notice of Sassetta, he evidently considers himself to be the tardy apologist of that charming and, to him, much neglected painter. It is all the more surprising to find that in the enumeration of Sassetta's works he omits all mention of some of his greatest achievements which have long been known to all lovers of Siena's art, although they have never been written about. The important influence which Mr. Douglas finds Sassetta to have exercised over Bonfigli seems to us almost as fanciful as that which he asserts Taddeo di Bartoli to have exer-

cised over Boccatis. ¶ But we have quoted a sufficient number of Mr. Douglas's opinions regarding the Quattrocento painters of Siena to indicate to the reader what he may expect, and we are glad to temper our criticism of so great a part of his book with a warm word of commendation on his attitude towards the Lombard Sodoma. Mr. Douglas fearlessly attacks the somewhat airy fabric of Sodoma's modern fame, but himself seems rather surprised to see how quickly the walls of that unstable card-house go down before the blows of practical criticism—and there is something of a conciliatory tone about some of his subsequent remarks which makes us feel that he in a way is trying to make up for the damage that he has done. Still, despite this attitude of compromise, these pages on Sodoma rank among the best and the most original in this division of his book, and somewhat revive our hopes for better things. His treatment of Beccafumi, however, is disillusionizing in the extreme. To call Beccafumi a "little" man, and to compare him to one of "Dr. Smiles's heroes," is to show a surprising ignorance of that master's work. Enough has already been said by modern would-be critics as to the academic and less pleasing side of Beccafumi's art—it is high time that the reverse of the medal should be shown, and it may yet be proved that Vasari was more right than wrong in his comparative judgement of the work of Beccafumi and his rival Sodoma. ¶ Mr. Douglas's review of the *Minor Arts of Siena* is excellent. Those who are interested in the study of Italian ceramics will remember with pleasure his article on the Majolica in the *Nineteenth Century* of September, 1900. To Professor Douglas belongs the entire credit of the reinstatement of this branch of the minor arts as one of the leading industries of old Siena. Nevertheless, to devote to it the large amount of space which he has done in this present volume is somewhat of a mistake, as far as the proportions of his book are concerned. ¶ The "History" is closed by a somewhat cursory review of Sienese literature, in which the author appears to take Cecco Angiolieri, with all his merits, rather too seriously. It is but natural that a chapter such as this should have its many limitations. Nevertheless, it may serve to bring before the general reader many names, at least, which may perhaps have been to him hitherto unknown.

F. M. P.

OLD PICTURE BOOKS, WITH OTHER ESSAYS ON BOOKISH SUBJECTS. By Alfred W. Pollard. Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d. nett.

Fine motives are not seldom robbed of their charm by a dry-as-dust method of presentment; on the other hand, the uninstructed enthusiast often leads us astray. In the sixteen reprinted essays which—with two eminently happy eighteenth century domestic romances from the pen of Mrs. Pollard—constitute the volume under notice, Mr. Pollard demonstrates yet again that the spirit of the student does not conflict with that of the writer whose primary aim it is to stir us to pleasure. At the British Museum, Mr. Pollard has around him a magnificent collection of "old picture books." Similarly circumstanced, many persons might be as familiar with them as is he; but few would add to exact knowledge that eager interest, that care for beautiful and significant design, by way of which knowledge in this kind becomes wisdom. Ben Jonson affirmed that "picture is the invention of heaven"; but, without endorsing this sweeping dictum—if gathered together in some celestial gallery the collection would certainly be a motley one—it may be noted as incontrovertible that need for pictorial interpretation of written or printed words has been felt from the time of the Egyptian papyrus to our own day. For the most part Mr. Pollard confines himself to early Italian, French, and English books or booklets, illustrated in the main by un-named artists. In the chapter on "Florentine Rappresentazioni" he outlines the history, not only of these Morality Plays but of book-illustration in Italy, from its beginning in 1467 to its climax in 1490–1510. Mr. Pollard is swift to discover suggestive avenues of investigation; the spontaneity of his style stimulates. Thus, he hazards the conjecture that there was some tie of blood between Savonarola, whose mother's name was Buonaccorsi, and the priest Buonaccorsi, who printed the earliest dated Savonarola tract known to Mr. Pollard. Furthermore, we are asked to believe that the preacher-monk "loved art so long as it was subservient to the main object of man's being." A hundred interesting questions arise in regard to these early Florentine cuts and other Italian illustrations. It is to be hoped that some day, for instance, Mr. Pollard will show to what extent, if at all, they derive from the ecstatic art of Fra Angelico, from the imaginatively intense art of Botticelli, from the overwhelming art of Pollaiuolo, or from that of other masters. "A Book of Hours" suggests

even to the uninitiated that devotional exercises at the end of the fifteenth century were far from a penance, thanks to the decorative pages of a Philippe Pigouchet, a Thielman Kerver, a Geoffrey Tory; in "The Transference of Woodcuts" we read of the haphazard and sometimes delightfully incongruous results of this old-time practice; elsewhere we may learn much of "Pictorial and Heraldic Initials," of "Woodcuts in English Plays," of "Printers' Marks," of "Armorial Book Stamps," and, not to go further, of "The First English Book Sale," on October 31, 1676, which inaugurated the system now practised by Messrs. Sotheby, Puttick and Simpson, and Hodgson. Mr. Pollard appears to regret that the collecting of old picture books "has become a hobby which can only be pursued by the very rich"; but is not the rise in the money-value due in considerable degree to his own writings as a connoisseur? Nor is he content to be anything short of generous now. "The fine manuscripts," he points out, "which can be bought for from one to two thousand pounds, are probably the cheapest art treasures on the market." Competition for such, however, must be between wealthy collectors. Too modestly, Mr. Pollard characterizes one of his essays as "dry, fragmentary, and disjointed"; we beg leave to join issue with him, for we regard the book as genuinely informative and no less genuinely readable. F. R.

WILLIAM HOGARTH. By Austin Dobson. With an Introduction on Hogarth's Workmanship by Sir Walter Armstrong.

Few living men can claim to have studied the social aspects of the eighteenth century in England as carefully as Mr. Austin Dobson. It is therefore easy to understand why he should have expanded his previous work on that century's first great satirist into the massive volume before us, which from its scale might appear to be the final monograph upon him. Almost every page of the book gives evidence of the zeal with which the author has studied previous commentators upon Hogarth, and noted even slight contemporary allusion to him. Thus as a biography the book is as complete as any biography needs to be. To this biography Mr. Austin Dobson has added an interesting bibliography and catalogues of Hogarth's pictures and engravings. The book has a long series of illustrations, some of considerable interest, though as a number of them are reproductions of wash-drawings and of prints, the

total effect is not perhaps, from a decorative point of view, so rich or so striking as in some other books published during the last few years. On the prints Mr. Austin Dobson himself furnishes comments and criticism. The task of appreciating Hogarth as a painter has been entrusted to the ready pen of Sir Walter Armstrong. ¶ Yet in spite of these attractions the book cannot be unreservedly praised. The author's bibliography, as we have said, is good, and so is his catalogue of the engravings, but the catalogue of Hogarth's pictures, as Mr. Dobson admits, is compiled from other catalogues, and therefore the authenticity of the works mentioned cannot be guaranteed. "Only the personal inspection of experts," says he, "could decide with certainty." Now in an elaborate and expensive monograph of this kind surely "the personal inspection of experts" is just what the public pays for. A short catalogue of genuine pictures, however imperfect, would surely be better than a long one on which no reliance can be placed. Nor is the catalogue in its present form complete. That pictures in private hands should now and then have escaped the author's notice is excusable and perhaps inevitable. That he should have overlooked the Oxford University Galleries, which contain the magnificent *grisaille* of "The Enraged Musician," the original picture for the engraving of "The Stage Coach," the interesting portrait group "A Society of Artists," as well as a dubious variant of a scene in "The Rake's Progress," is, to say the least of it, unfortunate. ¶ Nor is Mr. Austin Dobson's commentary as perfect as it might be. Surely the student ought to be able to turn to a work of such magnitude as this, with a tolerable certainty of finding any information available, and ought not to be treated on the same footing as *virgines puerique*. In the case of Hogarth this exaggerated fear of Mrs. Grundy is especially out of place, and is the more inexcusable in that the artist, though always free spoken, and sometimes brutal, was never prurient. The study of Hogarth's life and work is otherwise so impartial and so well written as to make even such a minor defect as this more noticeable than it would be in a worse book. ¶ Of Hogarth as a painter, Mr. Austin Dobson does not say much, leaving that part of his work to Sir Walter Armstrong. Nevertheless, from the little he does say in the course of his narrative, we cannot help feeling that he understands Hogarth's attitude towards his art (even if he is too modest to express his knowledge) at least as well as the authority on whose

assistance he has relied. ¶ To speak quite frankly, Sir Walter Armstrong's introduction on Hogarth's workmanship cannot be ranked among his best literary efforts. In what should be the technical and scientific chapter of an important book, it is disappointing to be put off with vague generalities, such as a comparison between Hogarth and those who copied his engraving, or a discussion as to whether he was not potentially a sculptor. ¶ Were all the facts of Hogarth's career as a painter generally known, and had some previous critic defined once for all Hogarth's exact strength and exact weakness, there would be some excuse for a subsequent authority dismissing the man in a careless essay. In Hogarth's case there is so much to be cleared up that it is impossible not to be surprised at the way in which Sir Walter Armstrong has avoided all the problems which surround his subject. ¶ It would have been interesting, for example, if Hogarth's evolution as a painter had been carefully traced from the rigid anæmic tradition of Kneller and his followers, to the masterly brushwork of "The Shrimp Girl" or "The Enraged Musician." We know of no serious attempt to do this, and until it is done we can form no proper estimate of Hogarth's career. Again, Hogarth's own genius can only be valued properly when we know more of the conditions under which he worked, and the opportunities of study that he had. The relation of his painting to his engraving, the reasons for the great inequality we notice in his work, his actual place as a draughtsman, as a colourist, and as a designer—all these questions still remain to be dealt with. ¶ To attempt to deal with him in the space at our disposal is impossible. All we can do is to discuss the comparisons instituted by Sir Walter Armstrong, and to express our regret that the astounding brilliancy, precocity, and historical importance of such works as "The Shrimp Girl" and "The Enraged Musician" should have been passed unnoticed and apparently uncomprehended. His admirably sympathetic note on the portrait group of Hogarth's servants, and an evident liking for the masterly "Lord Lovat," show that Sir Walter is not blind to Hogarth's insight into human character, but somehow he entirely fails to grasp the nature of the man's mastery of his art and its materials. ¶ Speaking of Jan Steen he says, "as a technical painter and layer on of colour he was Hogarth's superior." This is far from being universally the case. Steen laid on colour smoothly, methodically, and, now and then, in lustrous draperies, quite brilliantly.

Hogarth is more hasty and more unequal, but except in his early work he invariably hits the pearly colour of flesh more truly than Steen, and is far more varied in his use of pigments. His finest sketches in oil, too, have a summary breadth and mastery about them which Steen never compassed. Sir Walter continues, "but when it comes to welding two or three people into a unity which shall be at once dramatic and æsthetic, his best work falls far short even of Hogarth's mean level." ¶ This, we submit, is entirely untrue. Steen was one of the grandest masters of composition in a school famous for composition. His design, indeed, has such marked dignity of style, that Reynolds, when criticizing the Dutch, specially excepts Steen from his condemnation on this account. Hogarth's groups certainly have something of the accidental air of nature, which is irresistibly attractive to modern eyes. Yet, as designs pure and simple, they cannot for a moment be compared with those of the Dutchman. Now and then a happy fluke gives Hogarth a momentary superiority, and the individual groups in his pictures have often extraordinary grace, but the very nature of his subjects compelled him to deal with many groups rather than one group, and so he attains to unity but hardly. To compare Hogarth with Hals is even more *mal-à-propos*, and the portrait of Mrs. Salter is not exactly the specimen of Hogarth's work that a wise advocate would choose to fight the case upon. ¶ Hogarth, in fact, cannot be compared with the masters of the Continent. He was an Englishman to the backbone, and had apparently even less technical training than the other great English masters of the eighteenth century. Like all our best artists he was intensely personal in his work, trusting little to set plans or to established traditions. He had, too, an uncommonly strong strain of the "literary" element in him, which has ruined so many English painters. Thus in spite of great natural gifts of hand and eye, his total output is disconcertingly unequal. ¶ Because he was once despised and unfairly depreciated both in reputation and in money value, there is now a tendency to run to the opposite extreme, and to account Hogarth even a greater master than he is. Before accepting this estimate, it is well to remember that much of Hogarth's work bears the imprint of the stiff and feeble school from which he rose, that much of it is confused by the presence of aims not primarily artistic, that much of it is limited by the necessities of engraving,

and that often the actual handling, though sound and solid, is heavier than a quite supreme master would have allowed it to be. On the other hand we have from Hogarth's brush a few amazing works of art which anticipate our modern view of painting in a startling way, and a great deal that is fresh, forcible, skilful, and eternally interesting. ¶ Historically, of course, the man is of enormous importance, for he preceded even Chardin and the author of *Manon Lescaut* in rebelling against the stereotyped classical conventions of his age. It is, therefore, impossible not to regret that those responsible for the huge volume before us have neglected the opportunity of trying to give Hogarth his true place, not only in relation to his own time (that Mr. Austin Dobson has done with success), but in relation to the general current of art, and the general evolution throughout the world of intellectual freedom.

C. J. H.

THE ANCESTOR, 1902-3. (A. Constable & Co.)

Whether one is following the intricacies of "The King's Coronation Ornaments," or enjoying a hearty laugh at "what is believed," sound work thoroughly done must be one's judgement on the first year's issue of the *Ancestor*, which was completed with the January number; the first number of the second volume we hope to notice next month. The publishers are to be congratulated on having found so capable an editor as Mr. Oswald Barron. Though a subject with an evil reputation for dullness, genealogy is, appropriately, to the fore; the history of our notable families, ably dealt with in a series of contributions by various hands, removing much of this reproach. Be it known that heraldry should be a simple and understandable science not to be enwrapt in the mantle of ambiguity, and so we can strongly recommend the editor's brightly-written article on the subject to the "earnest student," congratulating him—for his health's sake—that common-sense blazonry, unencumbered by the absurdities of a thousand rules, is in good case of being revived. ¶ Sir George Sitwell states the case for that very dubious personage the English gentleman in a clear and convincing manner, the first of the genus, however, coming out somewhat unfavourably in the strong light of a fifteenth century Assize Court—a bad beginning for the order. *Generosus* seems always to have been an elastic designation, and Sir John Oglander of Nunwell puts the case in a nutshell when he writes of a

Bibliography

contemporary "in tyme—he gettinge wealthe—may tourne gentleman." To this subject belong also the diverting accounts of the handling of Richard Barker's pretensions by twelve sturdy Norfolk jurats who found him to be no "gentleman," and of the gentility of William Exelby which was called in question by an impecunious esquire of meaner extraction than himself; while the story of the rise and fall of the House of Coulthart loses none of its humour in the telling, and provides food for reflection to those desirous of ancestry at any cost. The family legend, probably owing much of its existence to the spindle side, dies hard, and the *Ancestor* takes a somewhat grim delight in hastening its end; a fair tilting against a sham, but there will be wailing north o' Tweed. ¶ When, as the expert appealed to for guidance through that slough of despond, the Lord Great Chamberlain Case, Mr. Horace Round says that he had the advantage of studying the mass of evidence laid before him, we feel that what he writes is from the hand of an authority whose dictum cannot be gainsaid. That a Crown recognition of claim has not always been justifiable, and that assumption has often carried the day, is clearly pointed out by Mr. Round, whose contributions throughout are, as usual, scholarly and convincing. In the review of "other fellows'" work there is just a suspicion of argument for argument's sake; but the laugh is always hearty and the blow, when it comes, from the shoulder. Hard hitting it may sometimes be, but it is above the belt. In fine, of each volume of the new quarterly one may safely use the hackneyed expression, "from cover to cover the book is well worth reading."

JAHRBUCH DER KÖNIGLICH PREUSSISCHEN KUNST-SAMMLUNGEN.—In the first part of this year's volume Albrecht Haupt writes on a Spanish drawing-book of the Renaissance. It is not a sketch book, but an elaborately bound book of drawings, the majority being patterns. Some of these are grotesques in the Italian style of the first half of the cinquecento, others are arabesques, while a few are of purely moresque origin. There are also some drawings of animals and studies of horses in which the author finds, on what seems slender evidence, studies from the Gattamelata statue at Padua. The only known Spanish artist whose career would explain these indications is Alonso Berruguete, who was in Italy between 1500 and 1520, and became Michaelangelo's assistant at Rome. The traditional ascription of the book to

him seems on the whole justified. ¶ Ferdinand Laban writes at length on Schadow's terra-cotta bust of Princess Louis (Friederike) of Prussia, an elegant, but over sweet work which can hardly be expected to arouse enthusiasm out of Germany. ¶ Hofstede de Groot has run to earth in St. Petersburg the Dutch painter, Isaac Koedijck, who had hitherto been made responsible for a number of inconsistent works. He appears to have been an amateur who followed at some distance in the steps of Gerard Dow, an altogether unimportant artist, whom, however, it may be as well to have rightly classified. ¶ Arthur Haseloff describes an admirable fragment of an ivory relief recently acquired by the Berlin Museum, while he shows the extreme difficulty of establishing any fixed points in the history of early Christian art by a severe criticism of the classification attempted some years ago by Stuhlfauths. According to the latter, the relief in question belongs to a supposed Milanese school of ivory carvers. Haseloff points out the important differences in style between this and the relief of the cathedral treasury at Milan, and by a comparison of the Berlin relief with the various consular tablets of known date arrives at the conclusion that it belongs to the end of the fourth century, the finest period of the art. It is, however, difficult to suppose this rough though unusually expressive and dramatic work to be contemporary with and of the same school as the Nichomachi-Symmachi tablet of the Victoria and Albert Museum. What makes this Berlin tablet of exceptional interest is that in a carved ivory book-cover in the Bodleian at Oxford we have an indubitable copy by a Carolingian artist. ¶ The Berlin Museum is naturally proud of its acquisition at the Bruges exhibition of the beautiful picture of St. John the Baptist seated in a wooded landscape by Gerard of St. Johns, which belonged to Mr. Percy Macquoid. We must correspondingly lament the loss from this country of the only known example of this rare and original master of whom Herr Friedländer writes at some length. He points out the extreme interest of such early examples of Dutch art, which show already the strong feeling for landscape, and the freedom from hieratic tradition of a school that two centuries later produced the essentially Protestant art of Rembrandt. ¶ An admirably thorough and skilful research based both on style-criticism and documents, is that by which Cornelius von Fabriczy has put together the work and to some extent the life history of

a hitherto unknown sculptor, Adriano Fiorentino. He was known only from a passage in the *Anonimo* of Morelli, who alludes to him as a pupil of Bertoldo. Fabriczy discovered his signature first on a rather ill-proportioned statuette of Venus, of which two replicas exist: then on the singularly German-looking bust of Frederick the Wise of Saxony. From these, with the help of two letters addressed by King Ferdinand I of Naples and the artist to Piero de' Medici, which the author discovered, he is able to establish his activity in Naples and to attribute to him the hitherto unnamed bust of Ferdinand I in the Naples Museum, while he establishes equally satisfactorily the artist's claim to the authorship of a series of rather clumsily modelled but characteristic medals, among them being one of the German Degenhard Pfeffinger, who was in close relation with Frederick. ¶ The concluding article is that by Dr. Bode on the magnificent "Adoration of the Shepherds" by Hugo van der Goes, which the Berlin Museum recently acquired in Madrid. This picture is of the same severely scholarly, not to say academic style as the "Death of the Virgin" at Bruges, and is distinct from the more direct naturalism of the great Portinari altar-piece at Florence. Dr. Bode, on the ground that the Portinari picture dates from about 1476, and that Van der Goes retired into a monastery almost immediately after, assumes that these more stylistic works were, contrary to the usual course of artistic development, earlier productions. It is, however, possible to suppose that both were executed in the convent at a subsequent date.

R. E. F.

SPIRALS IN NATURE AND ART. A study of spiral formations based on the manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci, with special reference to the architecture of the open staircase at Blois, in Touraine, now for the first time shown to be from his designs, by Theodore Andrea Cook, M.A., F.S.A., author of "Old Touraine," "Rouen," etc., etc., with a preface by Prof. E. Ray Lankester, F.R.S., etc., Director of the British Museum of Natural History. London, John Murray, 1903.

Mr. Cook, in his opening chapter, explains how his work, originating in an attempt to prove the authorship of a certain spiral staircase in a certain château of France, gradually developed into an essay on conchology and spirals in general. His

divagations are by no means to be regretted, for they draw attention to the little realized but very important relation that subsists between natural and architectural forms, although there is nothing absolutely new in the contention of Mr. Cook or of Professor Lankester—who has been called upon to supply one of those unnecessary prefaces at present so popular—that architecture, in order to appeal to all, should be based upon general morphological principles of natural forms. Yet it is remarkable how few, since Ruskin's day, have shown enough interest in these same principles to enter into a serious investigation of them. As the author modestly admits, his work can make no pretension to completeness, and is only a tentative effort to awaken a deeper interest in a much neglected subject. Still, so far as it goes, Mr. Cook has certainly written a very interesting and a very readable—if at times irregularly ordered—book. Regarding his attribution to Leonardo of the great staircase at Blois, he will doubtless meet with much opposition, especially from those architectural "Morellians" who in this case will have to forego the application of their beloved *stil-kritik*, for the simple reason that Leonardo has left no real criteria for a judgement of what might have been his particular architectural style. Mr. Cook's arguments, however, if not absolutely conclusive, are certainly logical, and carry with them a strong balance of probability. The comparison between the internal and the outward forms of *voluta vespertilio* and the beautiful Escalier du Jour, is but one of many suggestive parallels cited by the writer, and here leaves no doubt as to the source of the architect's inspiration. Mr. Cook traces the growth of the spiral or "newel" staircase from its origin to its full development. He brings forward a great deal in its favour, and advocates its adoption by modern architects both for its beauty and its practical simplicity. The chapter entitled "A Vanished Art" upholds the theory of a deliberate irregularity of building among the architects of the ancient and mediæval schools. It is unaccountable that after the recent investigations of Professor Goodyear and others, not to speak of the earlier discoveries of such men as Pennthorne and Penrose, this theory of architectural "asymmetry" should still be ignored by so many architects and critics. In his citation of authorities on this point, Mr. Cook has overlooked the importance of Ruskin's contribution to the subject. The last chapter of the book is a modest addition to the literature of æsthetics.

Bibliography

EARLY TUSCAN ART. By Sir W. Martin
Conway. Hurst and Blackett. London,
1903.

Sir Martin Conway's lectures, given at Cambridge as Slade Professor, which he has just brought out in the form of a portable and fairly well illustrated book, are distinctly not addressed to specialists, as, indeed, was inevitable in the nature of the case. Although they presuppose in the reader a certain acquaintance with the subject, their appeal is chiefly to that large class who take a general interest not in Art for itself but in Art as a branch of human history and activity. The connoisseur, the archivist, the dilettante, have little to learn from this work, but the general reader a great deal. The author has a wide, although not profound or strictly scholarly knowledge of the ground he covers; he writes in a clear, energetic, often condensed style, and he has a great deal to say, which, if not new to the initiated, can by no means be called the commonplace of art criticism. One of the most striking features of his volume is the distinction made between the opposing influences of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders—a point too little dwelt on by most art historians. The difference he insists on between what he terms the Ghibelline and the Guelphic tendencies in early Tuscan Art is also fundamentally a sound one; and his contention that decrease in cost of workmanship and material had much to do with the rapid and widespread acceptance of the new style of painting headed by Giotto, although not a theory to be driven too far, is also something more than a mere speculation, and deserves attention. One of the chief merits of the book is the almost constant and fairly consistent distinction between Art and Literature—a distinction seldom made in works of this class. ¶ Were we to criticize the book in detail, one might well find fault with the author's indiscriminating acceptance of the traditional "Cimabue," with his chronology of Giotto's works, with his slighting treatment of Agnolo Gaddi, and his inadequate mention of Fra Angelico's master, Don Lorenzo Monaco; but to do this would be to take these lectures too seriously from the specialists' point of view, and to approach them from a standpoint which is avowedly not theirs. We cannot in justice say more than that it is a suitable book for the general reader who wishes for a work on Art that is fairly trustworthy, interesting, suggestive, and yet not too technically "advanced."

F. M. P.

WATTEAU AND HIS SCHOOL. By Edgcumbe
Staley, B.A. (The Great Masters in Paint-
ing and Sculpture. George Bell, London.)

Watteau may be said to have invented a world of his own—to have evolved from his imagination a vision of enchanted life all languorous pleasure and graceful ease, its sweet serenity undisturbed by any jarring note. An optimist of optimists in his paintings, this master was, it is curious to recall, himself of a morose and even querulous disposition, and not by any means addicted to the facile pleasures and dissipations in which most of his contemporaries delighted. No doubt his health, which was never good, had something to do with this, as had also his character, by nature much disposed towards austerity. ¶ Few trustworthy records as to the life of Watteau have been handed down to us, but Mr. Edgcumbe Staley appears to have dealt in a fairly able manner with the material upon which it is possible to rely. Without, however, wishing to appear hypercritical, we cannot sincerely say that the style in which he writes of the great painter excites our enthusiasm. The fact is that the peculiar art of Watteau is probably too vaguely graceful—too full of dreamy French eighteenth-century poetry to be adequately dealt with by any other than a Frenchman. Nevertheless, Mr. Staley has written a fairly useful little book which contains much accurate and interesting information. At the same time, we must confess to a feeling of irritation at the repeated occurrence of French words, phrases, and quotations, many of which should have been translated, or perhaps omitted altogether; nor are we able to recognize the value of the "brief biographies of painters of the school of Watteau," or agree with Mr. Staley that they "add to the fame of the great Master-painter of *Les Fêtes Galantes*." One thing is certain—they add some thirty pages to Mr. Staley's book. ¶ Yet on the whole this little volume deserves to be accorded praise rather than censure, for undoubtedly it has been compiled in a thoughtful and painstaking manner. The numerous illustrations (especially the frontispiece, a reproduction of "*Les Amusements Champêtres*," in the Wallace Collection) are satisfactory and convey a very fair idea of the art of Watteau, besides which they have been selected with considerable judgement. At the end of the book is a useful list of the painter's works, and of the galleries or private collections in which they are to be found. A good Chronology and Index complete the volume.

R. N.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. By Elsa D'Esterre Keeling. (Walter Scott.)

Where many biographies of a well-known man already exist the appearance of a new one can only be excused by the discovery of new facts, or the possession of special knowledge. The volume before us can plead neither of these excuses, for it is neither complete nor original. The best that can be said of it is that it is fairly well arranged, and that the author has consulted most of the recognized authorities on Reynolds's life and work. Compilations of the kind are so numerous in these days, that it is unfair to expect too much from them. The present book might therefore pass unnoticed were its defects not accentuated by an assurance of expression which is, to say the least of it, unfortunate. Miss Keeling, in fact, has undertaken a task which was quite beyond her powers, and does not appear to have realized it. C. J. H.

GAZETTE DES BEAUX ARTS.—The March number contains an article on François Dumont, who became miniaturist to Marie Antoinette in 1780. Interest in Dumont's brilliant work has been aroused by a recent gift to the Louvre of twelve of his miniatures, together with a number of documents concerning the artist, from Dr. Henry Gillet, who inherited them from one of Dumont's sons. ¶ The collection which M. Bonnat has given to the town of Bayonne is so rich in works of art, especially in drawings of first-rate importance, that we could have wished for a less superficial and better illustrated account of it than that given by M. Gustave Gruyer. Especially in the account of Italian paintings and drawings we should be thankful for a more searching investigation. Without the help of an illustration we are not much better off for an account of a fresco painted "soit par Filippo Lippi, soit plutôt par Domenico Ghirlandajo," nor are we reassured when we find the author attributing a feeble Lombard drawing to such an incongruous group as Ambrogio di Predis, Zenale, and Luini. The only Italian painting reproduced is that of a head of Christ attributed to Piero della Francesca. The reproduction though poor is sufficient to show the falsity of this attribution: it is more difficult to criticize Signor Venturi's suggestion of Domenico Veneziano. Of the many splendid Italian drawings in the collection only a few are reproduced, the "Adam and Eve" by Michael Angelo being the most important. There is also a repro-

duction of a magnificent pen and bistre drawing by Claude, which the author might have recognized as an original study for Claude's "Mill" of the Doria Gallery and the National Gallery "Isaac and Rebecca." ¶ M. Henri Bouchot discusses the portraits of Louis XI, for all of which Laurana's intensely characterized medal is the most authentic test. There can be no doubt that the small crayon drawing of the Arras Library, which was copied from a lost picture at Ghent, represents the same head; but Mons. Bouchot's most interesting suggestion is that in a drawing of the Berlin Museum we have the portrait of Louis XI executed by no less an artist than Rogier van der Weyden, at the time when Louis was living in exile at Genappe. It is difficult to recognize in this drawing, good though it is, the hand of so great a master of linear design as Rogier. ¶ The second article on the paintings of the Dutuit Collection by Mons. Émile Michel contains some interesting remarks on Brouwer, whose "Drinkers" in the Dutuit Collection the author ascribes to the middle period of his short career. By Teniers there are several pictures, of which the best, the "Smokers," is reproduced. A fine Nicholas Poussin of his early Roman period, in which the influence of Titian predominates, is the "Massacre of the Innocents," of which a small reproduction is given. Among drawings Mons. Dutuit collected Rembrandt's with especial zeal, but apparently without very severe discrimination. An admirable study of oak trees by Ruysdael and a charming Fragonard are reproduced. ¶ In "Le Grand Camée de Trianon" Mons. F. de Mély dispels the illusion cherished by guides that this cameo on an unusually large scale is of classical origin: he shows that it bears unmistakable traces of the taste of the classic revival at the end of the eighteenth century.

R. E. F.

REPERTORIUM FÜR KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT.—Constantin Winterberg begins an elaborate analysis of Dürer's canons of proportion for the human figure, in which he seeks to find how far Dürer succeeded in getting a scientific basis for his results. ¶ Robert Stiassny reviews the Retrospective Exhibition of 1902 at Innsbruck, and discusses the curious intermingling of German and North Italian art which the Tyrolese school displays. The presence of Stefano da Zevio in South Tyrol in 1434 is now made more probable on documentary evidence, though his close connexion with German art had already been recognized in his

paintings. The author proceeds to discuss the origins of Michael Pacher's school so far as the exhibition helped to throw fresh light upon the question. ¶ Friedrich Haack has explained the relation of three separate pictures by Zeitblom in the Munich Gallery by the discovery that two were made by sawing in half one panel, while the other panel, left intact, still has its corresponding picture at the back, which has hitherto been overlooked. ¶ Dr. Friedländer reviews critically the Bruges Exhibition. For the most part he agrees with the results given in Georges Hulin's critical catalogue, which was of such advantage to students at the Exhibition. Dr. Friedländer maintains a dubious attitude as regards the discrimination between the works of Hubert and Jan van Eyck. He considers the Wörlitz Crucifixion reproduced in the last number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE to be by Petrus Christus. His attributions to Roger de la Pasture agree with those of most critics. One of the more distinct of this artist's followers was, according to the author, the author of the scenes from the life of St. Joseph in the cathedral at Antwerp, the exhumation of a bishop in the National Gallery, the Edelheer altar-piece at Louvain, and Mr. J. P. Heseltine's portrait of a woman. To the Master of Flémalle only one original piece, the Somzée Madonna, is given. Sir Frederick Cook's Madonna is described as an early sixteenth-century copy. With regard to Dirk Bouts, who was admirably represented at Bruges, Dr. Friedländer agrees with some hesitation to the attribution to the master of Lord Penrhyn's picture of St. Luke painting the Virgin, he agrees also with the view that van der Goes painted the Donors in Dirk Bouts' St. Hippolytus altar-piece. For Memlinc, he maintains the authenticity of the Najera triptych at Antwerp, as also the doubted Radziwill Annunciation and the Brussels Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. Among later pictures he notices at some length the works of Adriaen Ysenbrant, which made such a conspicuous display at Bruges. R. E. F.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW for April contains a most interesting review of Mr. Banister Fletcher's book on Palladio, by Mr. Reginald Blomfield. The reviewer's corrections of his author are so numerous and so well documented that the article amounts to an independent contribution on the subject. His severe strictures on Palladio are more likely to be accepted by architects than by those who appreciate architecture for its general æsthetic

effect. ¶ Mr. E. S. Prior and Mr. A. Gardner continue their valuable researches into English figure-sculpture, a strangely neglected field of study. The present chapter deals with the first Gothic figure-sculpture (1175-1280), showing the development from Romanesque stone ornamental sculpture on the one hand and the shrine workers who were connected with goldsmiths on the other. There is an admirable analysis of the sculptures of the angel choir at Lincoln which can be fairly followed by the aid of the accompanying reproductions.

ONZE KUNST.—A reproduction and an account of the new van der Goes at Berlin, about which Dr. Bode writes in the *Jahrbuch*, with some details of its past history, is given in the March number of this periodical. The same number contains some remarkable drawings by a modern Belgian artist, Dirk Nijland, as well as an article with reproduction of drawings by Flemish masters of the sixteenth century. These include a Patinir from the British Museum, a charming landscape by Hendrik van Cleve, and a masterly one by the elder Breughel. R. E. F.

WE have received the current number of the *Revue de l'Art*. This contains an account of a fifteenth-century Crucifixion, at Toulouse, which might have been of greater value had photographic reproductions accompanied it instead of rather clumsily-drawn copies. ¶ We have also received *Kunst und Leben*, Elsevier's *Geillustriert Mandtschrift*, and the *Emporium*, which contains a good popular account of the French sculptor François Rude.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ABBAY AND TOWN OF MONT ST. MICHEL (THE). By H. J. L. J. Massé, M.A. George Bell & Sons.
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS. By Charles Hiatt. George Bell & Sons.
GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE—BOTTICELLI. By A. Streeter. George Bell & Sons.
HOLBEIN'S "AMBASSADORS" UNRIDDLED. The Counts Palatine, Otto Henry, and Philipp. A key to other Holbeins. By William Frederick Dickes. Cassell & Co. 10s. 6d. net.
LEONARDO DA VINCI. By Dr. Georg Gronau. Duckworth. New York: Dutton & Co. 2s. net.
RUSKIN. Early Prose Writings. Library Edition. Edited by E. F. Cooke and Alex. Wedderburn. George Allen.

PERIODICALS.

- Gazette des Beaux Arts. Onze Kunst. Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft. Elsevier's Geillustriert Mandtschrift. Emporium (Bergamo). La revue de l'Art. L'Art et La Vie. Jahr Buch der Königlichen Preussischen. Revue Archéologique.

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"ALUNNO DI DOMENICO" AS A BOOK ILLUSTRATOR

SIR,

In the first number of *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* Mr. Bernhard Berenson not only states as a fact that three Florentine woodcuts which he reproduces are by an artist whom he calls Alunno di Domenico, but goes so far as to say that "in Florence, between 1490 and 1500, few, apparently, if any, illustrated books were published without woodcuts for which Alunno di Domenico furnished the designs," and that nine-tenths at least of the reproductions in Dr. Kristeller's *Early Florentine Woodcuts* reveal his touch and style. The humble student of illustrated books is always ready to welcome any new light on his subject which those who study higher branches of art can contribute, but as regards Italian books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it must be owned that this light has hitherto been but a Will-o'-the-wisp. The names of Botticelli, Baccio Baldini, Bellini, Luca Signorelli, Zoan Andrea, and others, have been tossed to and fro for our edification, and no edification has resulted. I believe that in the higher departments of art the grouping of numbers of anonymous pictures round the name of some hitherto unheard of artist is recognized as legitimate sport, and if so I am far from wishing to interfere with it. But students of early printed books have learnt of late years that the only sure road to progress is by the severest attention to the strict rules of evidence, and I must own to some concern at Mr. Berenson's light-hearted incursion into our little domain. ¶ I would point out that at best this argument from "touch and style" is liable to all the defects which logicians tell us are inherent in any attempt at proof by "simple agreement"; that in this case it is complicated by the intervention of the woodcutter; moreover, that the agreement asserted is not even complete. "This minor painter," writes Mr. Berenson, "who was apparently incapable of producing on the scale of life a figure that can support inspection, who is feeble if vivacious, and scarcely more than pleasant in *predelle* and *cassone-fronts*, was a book-illustrator charming as few in vision and interpretation, with scarcely a rival for daintiness and refinement of arrangement, spacing, and distribution of black and white." When I read this sentence my expectations were raised, and I think it is evident that the contrast between the unsuccessful painter and the successful illustrator was meant to raise them. Now at last, I thought to myself, someone has found a contract between Bonaccorsi or Piero Pacini or Miscomini and the artist who illustrated these publishers' books. Alas, instead of the hard evidence which bibliographers are wont to exact, I am only told that when Mr. Berenson's new book is published I shall not fail to recognize Alunno di Domenico's

"touch and style" where he bids me see it. I can only reply that if Mr. Berenson has attributed a sufficiently large number of anonymous Florentine drawings to any one artist it is quite likely that the characteristics of all the Florentine book-illustrations may be found paralleled in them. But for the present the variety in the little woodcuts I have loved for so many years seems to me great enough to make their ascription in a mass to a single artist extremely rash. ¶ If it be thought that I am premature in protesting against Mr. Berenson's theory before his work is published, I would plead that an assertion of this kind is so quickly caught up by dealers and repeated so freely in the catalogues which arrive by every post that a tardy protest is altogether unavailing. At the present time, by a quite illegitimate extension of some attributions by Mr. Davenport, every pretty English binding which can be dated between 1650 and 1720 is being roundly attributed by dealers to Samuel or Charles Mearne, so that the attribution has become meaningless. In its new form it seriously hinders that classification of the bindings according to their stamps, which would, I am sure, reveal the existence of several other firms with whom the Mearnes had nothing to do. So, again, the foolish ascription by dealers of all English seventeenth-century embroidered bindings to "Little Gidding" greatly stands in the way of their reasonable study. In both these cases a name has been exploited for trade purposes, despite continuous protests. I already seem to be reading in the mysterious polyglot of booksellers' catalogues endless panegyrics of cuts "in the finest style of Alunno di Domenico." Little, I am sure, does Mr. Berenson foresee what weariness to the flesh his speculations will cause to unoffending bookmen.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

The British Museum.

PROFESSOR LANGTON DOUGLAS AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

SIR,

If there is one impression given by Professor Douglas in his *History of Siena* that is stronger than any other, it is that he is an expert and accurate student of original and documentary evidence; especially when he wishes to confound received opinion on matters of art. May one venture to show by two examples how misleading is such an impression? In his life of Sodoma Professor Douglas goes out of his way to call that artist "Giovanni Antonio di Jacopo Tisoni"; to suppress under this appellation his real name of Bazzi, and his recognized surname of Sodoma; and to utter the astounding statement (on p. 397) that, "At any rate for the last thirty years of his

Correspondence

life Sodoma is almost always spoken of as 'de Tizioni' or 'd'Jacopo Tizioni.' No more erroneous statement ever masqueraded as fact. In one entry only in Siena (a payment for work done at the Oratory of S. Bernardino) Sodoma is described as "Miss Giovannantonio di Tizoni detto il Soddoma pittore": and in certain entries in the books of the Opera del Duomo at Pisa he is called promiscuously "Tisoni" and "Tissoni da Versè." Upon these last, however, no argument as to spelling can possibly be raised, because the scribe, perhaps a half-educated clerk, spells the names of all the artists employed by the Opera, and even common words, with an orthography of his own. This is absolutely all the foundation upon which this statement is built; though Professor Douglas might without much trouble have discovered that the name of the family friend of the artist's parents was Francesco Tizzoni or Tizoni (de Ticionibus), and could never have been Jacopo Tisoni. The Tizzone family were a well-known Piedmontese house and Counts of Desana. For Professor Douglas to assert that Sodoma wore this name for the last thirty years of his life is only a par with his suppression of the surname of "Mecarino" or "Mecharino," by which Beccafumi was documentarily known for the greater part of his artistic career.

The other mistake is even more curious. On page 389 we read, "In the year 1471 he (Matteo di Giovanni) also finished the 'Massacre of the Innocents,' which is still in that church" (the Servi at Siena). To this is appended the following note:—"Archivio di Stato, Siena Archivio dei Contratti, Filze di Ser Domenico foro, No. 151. This document was found by Sig. F. Donati. Cavalcaselle read the date of this picture as 1491, but it is 1471." I may remark in passing that the Archivio di Stato is one institution and the Archivio dei Contratti quite another. Signor Donati found no such document, and Cavalcaselle, as well as all critics who have eyes to see, is obviously correct in reading 1491 as the date of this picture; not only from the signature, which is clear enough, but from the picture itself. It is Professor Douglas who is wrong. What Signor Donati did was as follows: Writing in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese* for November, 1894, on the restorations, then proceeding, at S. Francesco, he reprinted (from a copy in the Communal Library, and not from the original) the will of Francesco di Giovanni Tolomei, dated 1472, in which the testator directs that a certain picture shall be

painted for the Tolomei family chapel. This picture, a "Madonna and Child with Saints," is duly described, and, at the end of the clause, the following words occur: "et che la detta tavola colle dette figure sia della forma che è quella nella chiesa de 'Servi a mano sinistra" (these three words are omitted in the copy) "a l'entrata, la quale dipinse Matteo." Signor Donati then, in a note, hazards the suggestion—not a very probable one, for what possible resemblance could the "figures" in a "Madonna and Saints" have to a "Massacre of the Innocents"?—that the picture meant was this Massacre, which he states, on no authority, as being painted in 1471. Evidently there was then existing a well-known painting by this master in the Church of the Servi "on the left-hand side of the entrance"; but on Professor Douglas's own showing there were other paintings by him in the said church, one of which at least was a "Madonna" of this very date (1470). His documentary evidence, however, upon this point again amounts to nothing. His theory is based upon a hasty note by a gentleman, who, on the face of it, pretends to no artistic knowledge; who is admittedly writing from a copy of a document that he never saw, and who gives a reference, which is, as I have reason to know, insufficient to trace it by.

R. H. HOBART CUST.

19, Via Sallustio Bandini, Siena.

[We regret that some misunderstanding seems to have arisen in connexion with the "Note on Five Portraits by John Downman" published in the March number of this Magazine. The writer of the note did not intend to imply that the Downman drawings were now brought under public notice for the first time; they have, of course, been before the public for some years, although the portrait of Mrs. Wells has not been reproduced before. The Downman drawings now in the British Museum were, we are informed, bought by Mr. Sidney Colvin from the collection of Sir Robert Cunliffe in 1884, and were exhibited in the public gallery of the Print Department from 1891 to 1894, where they excited a great deal of attention. This Exhibition was, in point of fact, the cause and origin of the revived interest in Downman, and we much regret that the writer of the note in question omitted to mention this circumstance.—ED.]



STUDIES FOR GOLDSMITHS' WORK, FROM DRAWINGS BY HANS HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.

DANTE ROSSETTI AND ELIZABETH SIDDAL

✿ WRITTEN BY W. M. ROSSETTI ✿

WITH FACSIMILES OF FIVE UNPUBLISHED DRAWINGS BY
DANTE ROSSETTI IN THE COLLECTION OF
MR. HAROLD HARTLEY

HAVING been invited to say something about the five designs of Miss Siddal by Rossetti, here reproduced (by kind permission of their present owner, Mr. Harold Hartley), I make this the opportunity for writing a brief monograph of the woman who bore so large a part in the painter's earlier life. I have before now written and edited various details concerning her, and shall have to repeat myself to some extent; but those details did not form a consecutive unity, and I think she is well entitled to something in the nature of express biographic record. Her life was short, and her performances restricted in both quantity and development; but they were far from undeserving of notice, even apart from that relation which she bore to Dante Rossetti, and in a very minor degree to other leaders in the "Præraphælite" movement. I need hardly say that I myself knew her and remember her very well. ¶ I may begin by mentioning that the correct spelling of the surname appears to be Siddall: but Dante Rossetti constantly wrote Siddal, and I follow his practice. Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal was the daughter of a Sheffield cutler, and was born in or about 1834; as my brother was born in May 1828, she was some six years his junior. The family came to London—Newington Butts or its neighbourhood; this, I take it, was before the birth of Elizabeth. I do not know when the father died; it must have been prior to the time when Elizabeth was known in any artistic circle. The mother survived, along with three sons and three daughters; one or more of the

sons continued the cutlery business. Elizabeth received an ordinary education, conformable to her condition in life; she became an assistant or apprentice in a bonnet shop in Cranbourne Alley, then a very well-known line of shops close to Leicester Square. ¶ In Elizabeth Siddal's constitution there was a consumptive taint. This may, I suppose, have come from the father; for the mother was a healthy woman, living on till past ninety. Two sons and two daughters are still alive, or were so very recently. Almost the only anecdote that I have heard of Elizabeth's early life, before she came into my circle, is that "she had read Tennyson, having first come to know something about him by finding one or two of his poems on a piece of paper which she brought home to her mother, wrapped round a pat of butter." ¶ Elizabeth was truly a beautiful girl; tall, with a stately throat and fine carriage, pink and white complexion, and massive straight coppery-golden hair. Her large greenish-blue eyes, large-lidded, were peculiarly noticeable. I need not, however, here say much about her appearance, as the designs of Dante Rossetti speak for it better than I could do. One could not have seen a woman in whose whole demeanour maidenly and feminine purity was more markedly apparent. She maintained an attitude of reserve, self-controlling and alien from approach. Without being prudish, and along with a decided inclination to order her mode of life according to her own liking, whether conformable or not to the views of the British matron, she was certainly distant. Her talk was, in my experience, scanty; slight and scattered, with some amusing turns, and

little to seize hold upon—little clue to her real self or to anything determinate. I never perceived her to have any religion; but a perusal of some of her few poems may fairly lead to the inference that she was not wanting in a devotional habit of feeling. ¶ The Præraphaelite Brotherhood, or P.R.B., was formed towards September 1848—the principal painter-members being William Holman-Hunt, John Everett Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. A leading doctrine with the Præraphaelites (and I think a very sound one) was that it is highly inexpedient for a painter, occupied with an ideal or poetical subject, to portray his personages from the ordinary hired models; and that on the contrary he ought to look out for living people who, by refinement of character and aspect, may be supposed to have some affinity with those personages—and, when he has found such people to paint from, he ought, with substantial though not slavish fidelity, to represent them as they are. This plan would secure (1) some general conformity between the painter's idea of his personages and the individuals from whom he pictures them; and (2) a lifelike treatment of a living countenance, with its precious personal vitality, and *nuances* of mould and character—things which it is difficult or impossible to obtain from “inner consciousness,” but which nature supplies in lavish superabundance. In other words, the artist had to furnish the conception; nature had to furnish the model; but this must not be a model obviously unresembling. ¶ Walter Howell Deverell was a young painter of promising gifts, and a very handsome one: he was not a P.R.B., but was much associated with the members of the Brotherhood, and with none of them more than with Rossetti. He was a son of the secretary to the Government School of Design at Somerset House, which in the course of years developed into the Department of Science and Art. One day, which may have been in the latter part of 1849, he accompanied his mother to a

bonnet-shop in Cranbourne Alley. Looking from the shop through an open door into a back room, he saw a very young woman working with the needle: it was Elizabeth Siddal. Deverell was at this time beginning a well-sized picture from Shakespeare's “Twelfth Night”—the scene where the Duke Orsino, along with Viola habited as a page, and the Jester, is listening to some music. Deverell wanted to get a model for Viola, and it struck him that here was a very suitable damsel for his purpose—and, indeed, he could not have chosen better. So he asked his mother to obtain from the shop-mistress permission for her assistant to sit to him. The permission was granted, and the Viola was painted, and is a very fair likeness of Miss Siddal at that early date. Soon afterwards Deverell drew another Viola from her, in an etching for *The Germ*. Rossetti sat to his friend for the head of the Jester in the oil picture, and it was probably in the studio of Deverell that he first met his future wife. The picture was exhibited in 1850. It belonged at one time to William Bell Scott, the painter and poet; afterwards to a lady in Wales, who, dying, left it under trusteeship. ¶ Rossetti saw that Deverell had secured a very eligible model for his Viola, and that the same model would suit himself extremely well for a Dante's Beatrice or something else. She consented to sit to him, and he painted from her a number of times; the first coloured example seems to have been his little water-colour named *Rossovestita*, 1850. I shall not here dwell upon other instances, but leave this over for a list before I conclude. To fall in love with Elizabeth Siddal was a very easy performance, and Dante Gabriel transacted it at an early date—I suppose before 1850 was far advanced. She sat also to Holman-Hunt and to Millais—not I think to anyone else. Her head appears in Holman-Hunt's pictures of the Christian Missionary persecuted by the Druids, 1850, and of Valentine Rescuing Sylvia from Proteus, 1851; and in Millais's *Ophelia*, 1852. Of



these three versions of her face, the Ophelia is the truest likeness, and is indeed a close one, only that the peculiar poise of the head thwarts the resemblance to some extent. ¶ At what precise date Dante and Elizabeth were definitely engaged I am not able to say: it may probably have been before the end of 1851, and I presume that about the same time she finally gave up any attendance in the bonnet-shop. The name Elizabeth was never on Dante's lips, but Lizzie or Liz; or fully as often Guggums, Guggum, or Gug. Mrs. Hueffer, the younger daughter of Ford Madox Brown, tells an amusing anecdote how, when she was a small child in 1854, she saw Rossetti at his easel in her father's house, uttering momentarily, in the absence of the beloved one, "Guggum, Guggum." Lizzie was continually in Rossetti's studio, 14, Chatham Place, Blackfriars, *tête-à-tête*. Sometimes she was sitting to him, but they were often together without any intention or pretence of a sitting; as time advanced she was frequently also drawing or painting there for her own behoof. This may have begun some considerable while before July 1854; but it seems to have been only about that date that Rossetti thought expressly that she would do well to turn to professional account the gifts for art which, though not cultivated up to the regulated standard, she manifestly possessed and clearly exemplified. After a while "Guggum" became so much of a settled institution in the Chatham Place chambers that other people understood that they were not wanted there in and out—and I may include myself in this category. The reader will understand that this continual association of an engaged couple, while it may have gone beyond the conventional fence-line, had nothing in it suspicious or ambiguous, or conjectured by any one to be so. They chose to be together because of mutual attachment, and because Dante was constantly drawing from Guggum, and she designing under his tuition. He was an unconventional man, and she, if

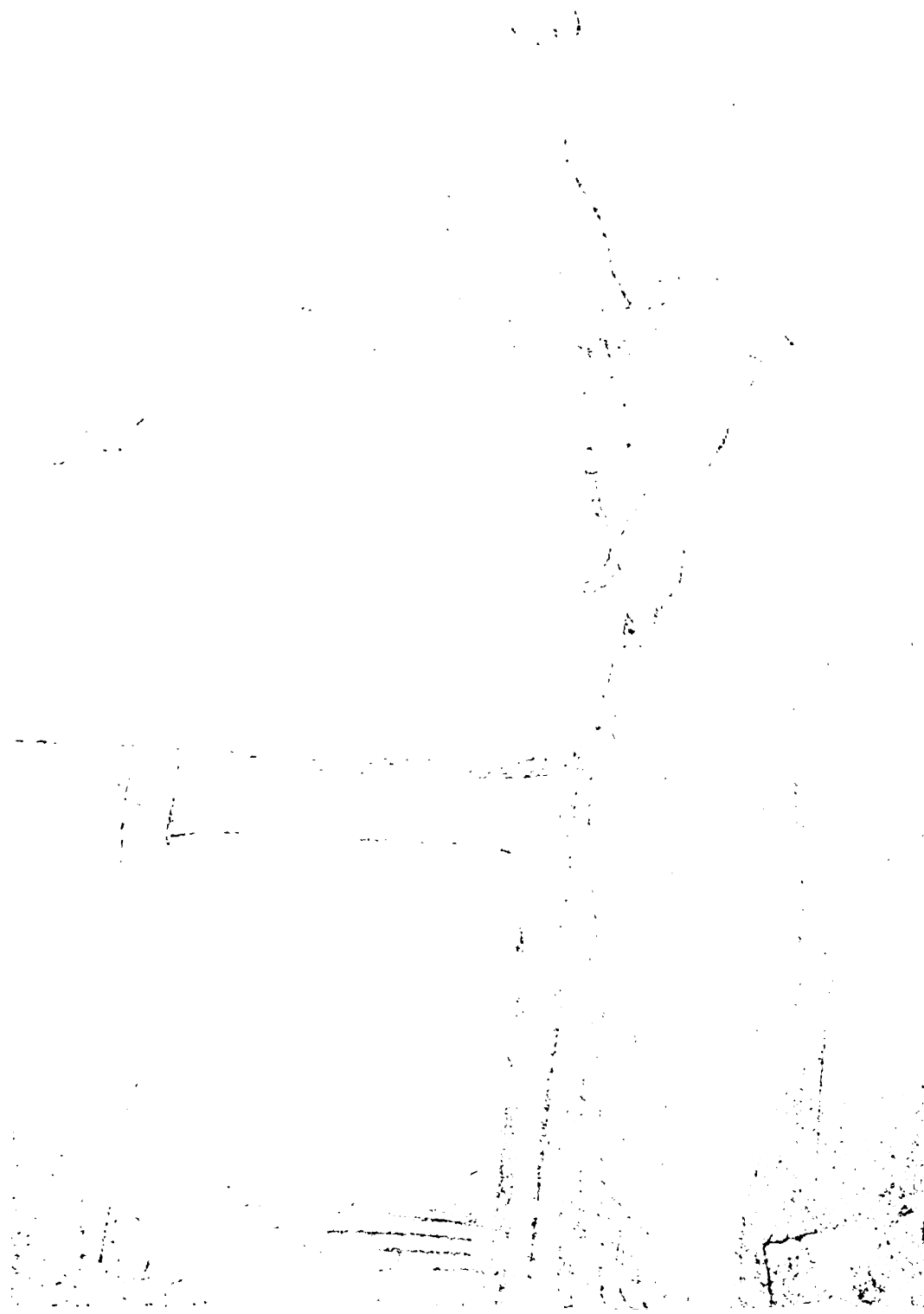
not so originally, became an unconventional woman. As Algernon Swinburne, who knew her well in after years, once said in print, but with a different reference: "It is impossible that even the reptile rancour, the omnivorous malignity, of Iago himself, could have dreamed of trying to cast a slur on the memory of that incomparable lady whose maiden name was Siddal and whose married name was Rossetti." Dante was also occasionally, but I think seldom, in the house where Lizzie lived: "her native crib, which I was glad to find comfortable," as he termed it, with his usual proclivity towards the slangy in diction. ¶ Nothing, I suppose, was more distant from Miss Siddal's ideas in her earlier girlhood than the notion of drawing or painting; but, under incitement from Rossetti, she began towards the close of 1852. The first design of hers which I find mentioned was from Wordsworth's *We are Seven*, January 1853. In 1853-4 she painted a portrait of herself—the most competent piece of execution that she ever produced, an excellent and graceful likeness, and truly good: it is her very self. This work remains in my possession, and there are few things I should be sorrier to lose. Other early designs are—a pen-and-ink drawing of Pippa and the Women of Loose Life, from Browning's drama; a water-colour of the Ladies' Lament, from the ballad of Sir Patrick Spens; two water-colours from Tennyson, *St. Agnes' Eve* and *Lady Clare*; a spectral subject, water-colour, *The Haunted Tree*. All these are in my hands, except the *Patrick Spens*, which belongs to Mr. Watts-Dunton. There was an idea that she, along with Rossetti, would illustrate a ballad-book compiled by William Allingham. This project lapsed; but she produced (May 1854) a design of Clerk Saunders, which afterwards she developed into a water-colour, about her completest thing except the portrait. It was purchased by the American scholar Professor Eliot Norton; later on in 1869 Rossetti got it back, and it is now in the fine

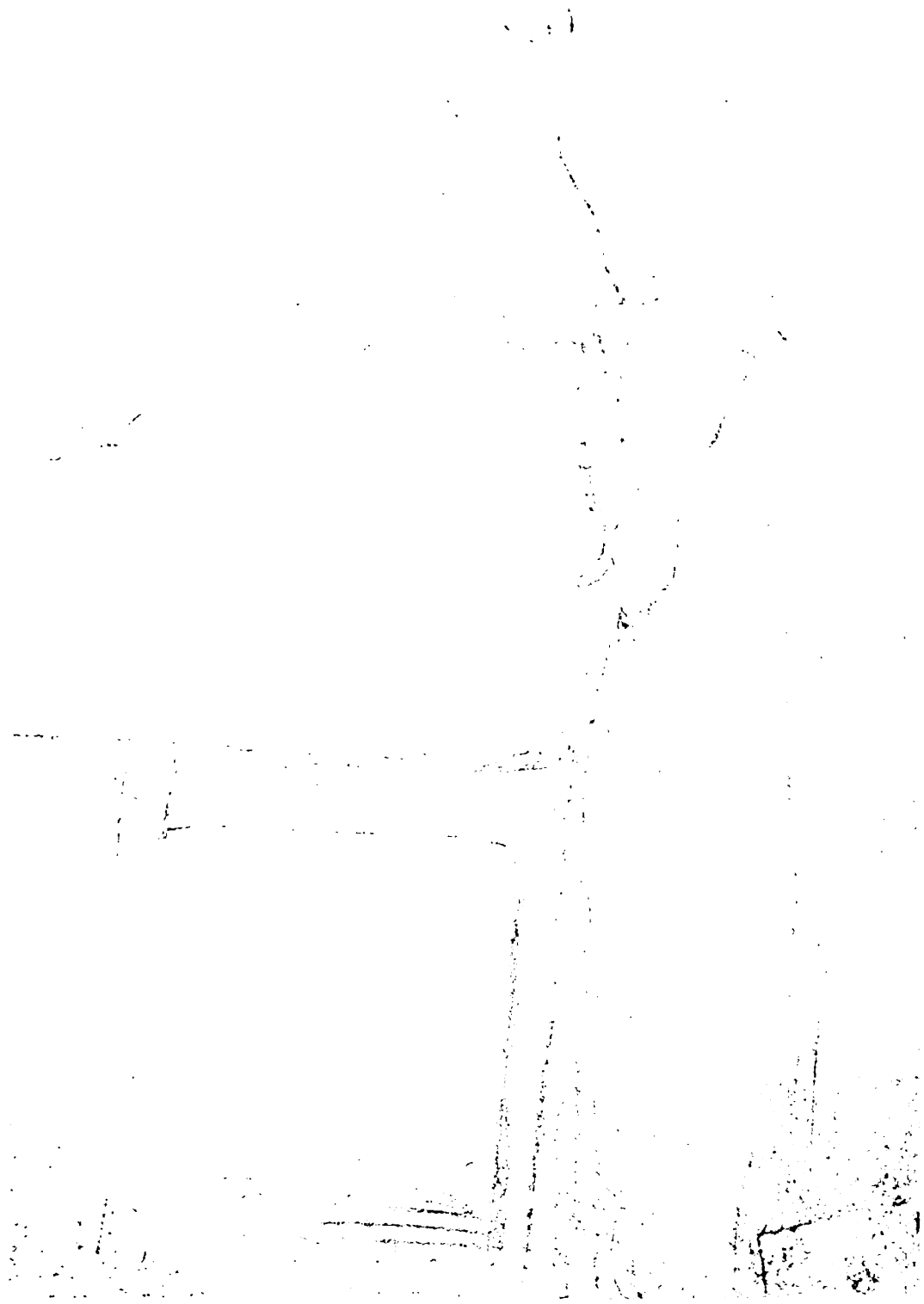
collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray. "It even surprised me," Rossetti wrote to Professor Norton, "by its great merit of feeling and execution." By 1854 she had also produced designs of Rossetti's Sister Helen, The Nativity, The Lass of Lochroyan, and The Gay Gos-hawk—the latter two for the Ballad-book. Two water-colours, La Belle Dame Sans Merci, and the old design of We are Seven, were in hand at the beginning of 1855. There was also a design, pen-and-ink, of Two Lovers seated *al fresco*, and singing to the music of two dark Malay-looking women, while a little girl listens. This properly belonged by gift to Allingham, but got sold inadvertently to Ruskin. She made some designs to be executed in carving in Trinity College, Dublin, a building carried out by Benjamin Woodward (the architect of the Oxford Museum). One of the designs represented "an angel with some children and all manner of other things," and it was supposed to be *in situ* in 1855, but I see it stated that no such work is now traceable there. She began late in 1856 an oil-picture from one of the ballad-subjects, probably The Lass of Lochroyan. This I think is not now extant, but there is a water-colour of it. ¶ The total of designs made by Lizzie, coloured and uncoloured, was somewhat considerable, allowing for the short duration of her artistic activity. I question whether she produced much at a date later than 1857; but she certainly produced something after as well as before her marriage—she was at work at the end of November 1860, and probably later. In January 1862 the drawing-room at 14 Chatham Place was entirely hung round with her water-colours of poetic subjects; and there must at that time have been several others in the possession of Ruskin, and not of him alone. This drawing-room was papered from a design made by Rossetti; trees standing the whole height of the wall, conventionally treated, with stems and fruit of Venetian red, and leaves black, and with yellow stars within a white ring: "the ef-

fect of the whole," he said, "will be rather sombre, but I think rich also." As to the quality of her work, it may be admitted at once that she never attained to anything like masterliness—her portrait shows more competence than other productions; and in the present day, when vigorous brush-work and calculated "values" are more thought of than inventiveness or sentiment, her performances would secure little beyond a sneer first, a glance afterwards, and a silent passing by. But in those early "Præraphaelite" days, and in the Præraphaelite environment, which was small, and ringed round by hostile forces, things were estimated differently. The first question which my brother would have put to an aspirant is, "Have you an idea in your head?" This would have been followed by other questions, such as: "Is it an idea which can be expressed in the shape of a design? Can you express it with refinement, and with a sentiment of nature, even if not with searching realism?" He must have put these queries to Miss Siddal practically, if not *à viva voce*; and he found the response on her part such as to qualify her to begin, with a good prospect of her progressing. She had much facility of invention and composition, with eminent purity of feeling, dignified simplicity, and grace; little mastery of form, whether in the human figure or in drapery and other materials; a right intention in colouring, though neither rich nor deep. Her designs resembled those of Dante Rossetti at the same date: he had his defects, and she had the deficiencies of those defects. He guided her with the utmost attention, but I doubt whether he ever required her to study drawing with rigorous patience and apply herself to the realizing of realities. It should be added that her health was so constantly shaky, and often so extremely bad, that she was really not well capable of going through the toils of a thorough artist-student. ¶ Ruskin made himself personally known to Rossetti in April 1854, by calling at his studio: he had



PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH SIDDAL, BY HERSELF; IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. W. M. ROSSETTI





some little while before seen and praised some of the painter's works. He struck up a close friendship with my brother, and undertook to buy, in a general way, whatever the latter might have to offer him from time to time: the prices to be paid were not lavish, but they were such as Rossetti, at that stage of his practice and repute, was highly pleased to accept. Through Rossetti, Ruskin knew Miss Siddal before the end of 1854. He took the greatest pleasure in her art-work, present and prospective. She visited at his house, with Rossetti, in April 1855. He "said she was a noble, glorious creature, and his father said that by her look and manner she might have been a countess." In March of this year John Ruskin (as Rossetti wrote) "saw and bought on the spot every scrap of design hitherto produced by Miss Siddal. He declared that they were far better than mine, or almost than anyone's, and seemed quite wild with delight at getting them. He is going to have them splendidly mounted, and bound together in gold." The price which Dante Gabriel named for the lot was certainly modest, £25: Ruskin made it £30. In May of this same year Ruskin settled £150 per annum on Miss Siddal, taking, up to that value, any works which she might produce. This arrangement held good, if I am not mistaken, up to 1857, but was then allowed to lapse, with reluctance on the generous writer's part, upon the ground that the state of her health did not admit of her meeting her share in the engagement in a continuous and adequate manner. Ruskin called Miss Siddal Ida (from Tennyson's "Princess"), and befriended her to the utmost of his power in various ways—getting her to visit Oxford, and place herself under the advice of Dr. Acland who pronounced (and I fancy with a good deal of truth) that the essence of her malady was "mental power long pent up and lately overtaxed." It is too clear, however, that the germs of consumption were present, with neuralgia, and (according to one opinion) curvature of the spine.

One result of Ruskin's admiration of Dante Miss Siddal's designs was that Tennyson Rossetti and his wife heard of the matter at the time Elizabeth Siddal when the well-known "Illustrated Tennyson" was in preparation; and they both "wished her exceedingly to join" in the work: "Mrs. Tennyson wrote immediately to Moxon about it, declaring that she had rather pay for Miss Siddal's designs herself than not have them in the book." Her drawings, reasonably controlled by Rossetti, would really have been a credit to the undertaking; but, whatever the reason, she was not enlisted by Moxon. Perhaps he thought the fastidiousness of Rossetti over his wood-blocks was quite enough without being reinforced by that of an unknown female ally. ¶ I hardly think that Miss Siddal ever exhibited any of her paintings or drawings, except in the summer of 1857, when a small semi-public collection was got together by various artists in Russell Place, Fitzroy Square. People came to call this "the Præraphæelite Exhibition," although no such name was put forward by the exhibiting artists. Miss Siddal sent Clerk Saunders, Sketches from Browning and Tennyson, We are Seven, The Haunted Tree, and a Study of a Head (I think her own portrait). Madox Brown, Holman-Hunt, Millais, Rossetti, C. Allston Collins, William Davis, Arthur Hughes, Windus, Joseph Wolf, Boyce, and some others, were contributors. Clerk Saunders was also included in an American Exhibition of British Art, New York, in the same year, 1857. ¶ Rossetti made Miss Siddal known to several friends of his, all of whom treated her with the utmost cordiality or even affection: William and Mary Howitt, and their daughter Anna Mary (then a painter of whom high hopes were entertained); Miss Barbara Leigh Smith (Mrs. Bodichon); Miss Bessie Parkes (Madame Belloc); William Allingham; the sculptor, Alexander Munro; Madox Brown and his family. Mrs. Brown, who had previously had some knowledge of Mrs. Siddal, naturally became very intimate with Lizzie. At

a later date there were Burne-Jones, William Morris, and Alexander Gilchrist, and their respective wives. In Paris, in the autumn of 1855, she met for a few minutes Robert Browning: and Rossetti showed him the design from "Pippa Passes," with which the poet "was delighted beyond measure." My mother did not meet Lizzie in person until April 1855: between that date and the time when my brother's marriage took place, they encountered from time to time, not frequently. Dante Gabriel had at one period a fancy that Christina was not well affected to the unparagoned Guggum: in this there was in fact next to nothing, or indeed nothing. ¶ All this while Miss Siddal's health was extremely delicate—at times wofully bad. One recurring symptom was want of appetite and inability to retain food on the stomach. She went to a number of health resorts: Hastings, Bath, Matlock, Clevedon. The most important expedition was in the autumn of 1855, when she journeyed to Nice, passing through Paris: this last was the place that seemed to suit her the best of all. At Nice in December she had weather "as warm as the best English May," but the improvement to her health, after a somewhat prolonged sojourn, did not turn out to be considerable. She was accompanied in this instance by a Mrs. Kincaid, a married lady related to my mother, but of whom we did not know very much; but they had, I think, separated before the experiment at Nice came to a conclusion. Between Ruskin's subvention and funds supplied by my brother Miss Siddal was kept while abroad free from money straits: a sum of £80 was in her hands, partly at the date of starting and partly soon afterwards. ¶ Rossetti made a rather long stay with Miss Siddal at Matlock, where she tried the hydropathic cure: this may, I think, have been in the later months of 1857 and the earlier of 1858. It appears to me—but I speak with uncertainty—that during the rest of 1858 and the whole of 1859 he did not see her so constantly as in preceding

years. For this, apart from anything savouring of neglectfulness on his part, there may have been various causes, dubious for me to estimate at the present distance of time. Her own ill-health would have been partly accountable for such a result; and, again, the fact that Rossetti, increasingly employed as a painter, had by this time some other sitters for his pictures—Miss Burden (Mrs. Morris), Mrs. Crabb (stage name Miss Herbert), and two whose heads appear respectively in the Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee and in Bocca Baciata. In April 1860 Miss Siddal was staying at Hastings, and was desperately ill. She may possibly in some previous instances have been equally brought down: more so she cannot have been, for she seemed now at the very gates of the tomb. Dante Rossetti joined her at this place; and some expressions in his letters may be worth quoting (I condense *ad libitum*):—¶ To his mother, April 13, 1860: "I write you this word to say that Lizzie and I are going to be married at last, in as few days as possible. Like all the important things I ever meant to do—to fulfil duty or secure happiness—this one has been deferred almost beyond possibility. I have hardly deserved that Lizzie should still consent to it, but she has done so, and I trust I may still have time to prove my thankfulness to her. The constantly failing state of her health is a terrible anxiety indeed." To myself, April 17: "You will be grieved to hear that poor dear Lizzie's health has been in such a broken and failing state for the last few days as to render me more miserable than I can possibly say. She gets no nourishment, and what can be reasonably hoped when this is added to her dreadful state of health in other respects? If I were to lose her now, I do not know what effect it might have on my mind, added to the responsibility of much work, commissioned and already paid for, which still has to be done. The ordinary licence we already have, and I still trust to God we may be enabled to use it. If not, I should have so



much to grieve for, and (what is worse) so much to reproach myself with, that I do not know how it might end for me." To Madox Brown, April 22 : "I have been, almost without respite, since I saw you, in the most agonizing anxiety about poor dear Lizzie's health. Indeed, it has been that kind of pain which one can never remember at its full, as she has seemed ready to die daily and more than once a day. Since yesterday there has certainly been a reaction for the better. It makes me feel as if I had been dug out of a vault, so many times lately has it seemed to me that she could never lift her head again." ¶ Black as things had been looking, Miss Siddal did so far revive as to be able, on May 23, 1860, to attend at St. Clement's Church, Hastings, where the marriage rites were performed by the Rev. T. Nightingale. The bride and bridegroom went off at once to Folkestone, and thence to Boulogne and Paris. At Boulogne she made acquaintance with a married couple advancing in years, Signor C. P. Maenza and his wife, who had been very attentive and affectionate to Dante Gabriel in 1843 and 1844, when he was received into their house to keep his health and stamina up to the mark. Maenza was known to my father, being, like himself, one of the numerous refugees from governmental tyranny in Italy : he subsisted in Boulogne chiefly by teaching drawing. He was a rapid and telling sketcher of all sorts of bits of landscape and seascape, with fisher-folk, boats, and so on. I still possess several of his drawings of this class, which, without showing artistic faculty of any exalted order, are cleverly dashed or touched off : I have more than once heard my brother say, and truly say, "I know *I* couldn't have done them." Lizzie took a warm liking to this most worthy Italian, and Rossetti made a pencil study of his head, now in the Art Gallery of Cardiff. ¶ Rossetti and his bride spent most of their honeymoon in Paris : one thing that he did there in part was the design named *How They Met Themselves*—two medieval lovers in

a forest meeting their own wraiths ; another Dante was the Dr. Johnson and the Methodistical Rossetti and Young Ladies at the Mitre Tavern. Pretty Elizabeth soon they were back in London, staying on Siddal in the chambers at Chatham Place, considerably enlarged by opening a communication into the adjoining house, and they also occupied for a while part of a house in Downshire Hill, Hampstead. There is a pleasing anecdote of the day when they returned from France to London, showing the impulsive generosity and good-nature which were characteristic of Dante Rossetti, and also evincing that his wife was quite willing to second him when occasion arose. As he was returning, he saw in a newspaper that a friendly chum of his bachelor days—hardly to be called a friend in the fuller sense of the word—was just dead, leaving a widow and two children. This was Robert (or Bob) Brough, a comic writer of some cleverness and acceptance and of limp purse. One of his publications was a series of verses, "*Songs of the Governing Classes*," with plenty of point and sting in them : he dedicated the booklet to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The bridegroom had, at the moment of re-entering London, no ready cash : it had all been spent in Paris, some of it upon trinkets which Lizzie was wearing. So, as they hired a cab, they drove round to a pawnbroker's, where he pledged the trinkets ; they next proceeded to Mrs. Brough's lodgings, where he left the proceeds ; and only then did they take the route to their own home. I am not sure that I ever heard these details from my brother—he could do a kindly act without saying anything about it : but they have been put into print ere now on authority which seems perfectly safe. ¶ Lizzie did not attain to anything approaching tolerable health during her wedded life, although it may be that illness did not assail her again in quite so fierce a form as had been the case just before her marriage. She continued designing and painting to some extent at intervals, and of course she sat at times to her husband for

his works. The last instance, only a few days before her death, was for a head of the Princess in the subject called St. George and the Princess Sabra. Ill-health did not induce her to seclude herself beyond what was actually necessary: every now and then she stayed on a visit in the house of the Madox Browns near Highgate Rise, or in that which the Morrisises had been building at Upton, near Bexley. In May 1861 she was confined of a stillborn female infant; her recovery was rapid enough. In all cases she was, as her husband wrote, "obstinately plucky in illness." The then very youthful poet, Algernon Swinburne, just at the very beginning of his shining career, was often in her company: he delighted in her society, and she in his. I have already quoted some words of his, a tribute to her memory: he went on to speak "of all her marvellous charms of mind and person—her matchless grace, loveliness, courage, endurance, wit, humour, heroism, and sweetness." Mr. Swinburne also once wrote something to me, expressing a wish that it might be published at some opportunity. I will here only cite one sentence, in which he says that, with a single exception, "I never knew so brilliant and appreciative a woman—so quick to see and so keen to enjoy that rare and delightful fusion of wit, humour, character-painting, and dramatic poetry—poetry subdued to dramatic effect—which is only less wonderful and delightful than the highest works of genius. She was a wonderful as well as a most lovable creature." Mr. Swinburne is very well known to be a munificent praiser: but it would be childish to imagine that, when an intellect such as his discerns certain intellectual and personal merits in another person, nothing of the sort was really there. Lizzie Rossetti has more claims than one to sympathetic and respectful memory: no testimony to them tells out so impressively as the record of her from the hand of Algernon Swinburne. ¶ Of her life there is little more for me to say—only of her death. Her consumptive

malady, accompanied by wearing neuralgia, continued its fatal course, and her days could at best, to all appearance, have only been prolonged for some very few years. For the neuralgia she took, under medical authority, frequent doses of laudanum—sometimes as much as 100 drops at a time; she could not sleep nor take food without it; stimulants were also in requisition. On February 10, 1862, she dined at the Sablonière Hotel, Leicester Square, with her husband and Mr. Swinburne; it was no uncommon thing for her to go out thus, as a variation from dining at home. The Rossettis returned to Chatham Place about eight o'clock; she was about to go to bed at nine, when Dante Gabriel went out again. He did not re-enter till half-past eleven, when the room was in darkness, and, calling to his wife, he received no reply. He found her in bed, utterly unconscious; there was a phial on the table by the bedside—it had contained laudanum, but was now empty. Dr. Hutchinson (who had attended her in her confinement) was called in, and three other medical men, one of them the eminent surgeon John Marshall, well known to Madox Brown and to Rossetti. The stomach-pump and other remedies were tried—all without avail. Lizzie Rossetti expired about a quarter past seven in the morning of February 11. An inquest was held on the 12th at Bridewell Hospital; I was present, but had no evidence to give. The witnesses, besides Dr. Hutchinson, were Dante Rossetti, Swinburne, and Mrs. Birrell, the housekeeper for the various Chambers at 14, Chatham Place. She testified, among other things, to uniformly affectionate relations between the husband and wife. There was but one inference to be formed from the evidence, namely, that Mrs. Rossetti had, by misadventure, taken an overdose of laudanum, and the jury at once returned a verdict of accidental death. ¶ She lies buried in Highgate Cemetery, in the grave where my father had already been interred; my



mother and my sister Christina have joined them there. Dante Rossetti, as it has often been recorded, buried in her coffin the mass of his poems, which had then recently been announced for publication. He chose to make this sacrifice to her memory, and for more than seven years thereafter he was unable to bring out the intended volume. At last, in October 1869, the manuscript was uncoffined, and the publication ensued. ¶ With the aim of throwing a little light on Lizzie's character and demeanour, I will extract here a few sentences from letters written by Ruskin to Rossetti, and by Rossetti to Allingham. ¶ *Ruskin*.—April 30, 1855 :—"My feeling at the first reading is that it would be best for you to marry, for the sake of giving Miss Siddal complete protection and care, and putting an end to the peculiar sadness, and want of you hardly know what, that there is in both of you." 1860.—"It is not possible you should care much for me, seeing me so seldom. I wish Lizzie and you liked me enough to—say—put on a dressing-gown and run in for a minute rather than not see me. Perhaps you both like me better than I suppose you do, but I have no power in general of believing much in people's caring for me. I've a little more faith in Lizzie than in you—because, though she don't see me, her bride's kiss was so full and queenly-kind." *Rossetti*.—July 24, 1854 :—"I wish, and she wishes, that something should be done by her to make a beginning, and set her mind a little at ease about her pursuit of art ; and we both think that this, more than anything, would be likely to have a good effect on her health. It seems hard to me when I look at her sometimes, working or too ill to work ; and think how many, without one tithe of her genius or greatness of spirit, have granted them abundant health and opportunity to labour through the little they can or will do, while perhaps her soul is never to bloom nor her bright hair to fade ; but, after hardly escaping from degradation and corruption, all she might

have been must sink out again unprofitably Dante in that dark house where she was born. Rossetti and How truly she may say, 'No man cared for Elizabeth my soul.' I do not mean to make myself Siddal an exception ; for how long I have known her, and not thought of this till so late—perhaps too late !" November 29, 1860. —"Indeed, and of course, my wife does draw still. Her last designs would, I am sure, surprise and delight you, and I hope she is going to do better than ever now. I feel surer every time she works that she has real genius—none of your make-believe—in conception and colour ; and, if she can only add a little more of the precision in carrying-out which it so much needs health and strength to attain, she will, I am sure, paint such pictures as no woman has painted yet. But it is no use hoping for too much." ¶ Elizabeth Siddal developed a genuine faculty for verse as well as for painting—both assuredly under the stress of Rossetti's prompting. Mr. Swinburne, in writing to me, expressed the quality of her verse with equal intuition and precision. "Watts [Theodore Watts-Dunton] greatly admires her poem ["A Year and a Day"], which is as new to me as to him ; I need not add that I agree with him. There is the same note of originality in discipleship which distinguishes her work in art—Gabriel's influence and example not more perceptible than her own independence and freshness of inspiration." The amount of verse which she produced was, I take it, very small ; certainly what remains in my hands is scanty. In two of my publications I have printed nine specimens. Since then I have deciphered six others scrappily jotted down, and I may one of these days publish all the six. I here extract one of them :—

A SILENT WOOD.

O silent wood, I enter thee
With a heart so full of misery,
For all the voices from the trees
And the ferns that cling about my knees.
In thy darkest shadow let me sit,
When the grey owls about thee flit ;

There I will ask of thee a boon,
That I may not faint, or die, or swoon.
Gazing through the gloom like one
Whose life and hopes are also done,
Frozen like a thing of stone,
I sit in thy shadow—but not alone.

Can God bring back the day when we two stood
Beneath the clinging trees in that dark wood ?

¶ When Christina Rossetti was putting together in 1865 her volume "The Prince's Progress and other Poems," she raised a suggestion that she might perhaps include two or three specimens of Lizzie's verse, giving, of course, the authoress's name. Christina then, for the first time, read the compositions sent to her by Dante Gabriel, and she wrote, "How full of beauty they are, but how painful !" She thought them "almost too hopelessly sad for publication *en masse*." The poetry of Christina herself has often been arraigned for excessive melancholy, though not, I think, quite accurately, for what it really exhibits is in the main renunciation—a disregard for the beauties and allurements of this world, in the effort to scale a steeper path, and in the light of a higher hope. The proposed printing of Lizzie's poems did not come to effect—probably both Dante and Christina agreed in thinking it better that they should remain in manuscript for the present. ¶ I will now come to the drawings by Dante Rossetti which form our illustrations. For a series of years, of which 1854 may be taken as the centre, he made a more than copious set of drawings of Miss Siddal ; very generally representing her as she actually was and looked, only occasionally treating her figure as a study of action antecedent to some painting. When those sketches had become numerous, and no doubt littery (for Dante Gabriel's studio was not a model of orderly neatness), a friend of his, Lady Dalrymple, presented him with a large handsome volume into which they could be collected ; and collected they were, and formed for years a great attraction to visitors in his

studio. Some of them were given away or otherwise dispersed from time to time ; a considerable number still remained at the date of my brother's death in 1882. Here is the testimony which Madox Brown, in his diary of October 6, 1854, bore to the quality of these drawings :—"Called on Dante Rossetti. Saw Miss Siddal, looking thinner and more deathlike and more beautiful and more ragged than ever ; a real artist, a woman without parallel for many a long year. Gabriel, as usual, diffuse and inconsequent in his work. Drawing wonderful and lovely Guggums one after another, each one a fresh charm, each one stamped with immortality." Here also is the testimony of Ruskin, in a letter addressed to my brother, September 4, 1860 : he appears to have called in Chatham Place without finding any one at home. "I looked over all the book of sketches at Chatham Place yesterday. I think Ida should be very happy to see how much more beautifully, perfectly, and tenderly you draw when you are drawing her than when you draw anybody else. She cures you of all your worst faults when you only look at her." ¶ I will take in order the illustrations here supplied. The first I consider to be the best of all, both as a drawing and as a likeness ; it strongly confirms the accuracy of the portrait already mentioned, which Miss Siddal painted of herself. In the pencil design the expression is more than commonly grave, and seems to give evidence of ill-health ; the date is September 1854, nearly the same date as our extract from Brown's diary. She is seated "in that armchair which suits your size," as Rossetti phrased it in a valentine of about this period. The second and third in order are fair likenesses, but in the latter there is a certain *petitesse* about the lower part of the face which detracts from the resemblance. The fourth drawing gives the face truly, yet not very characteristically ; the pose is a pretty one, and counts for more than the visage. Of the last nearly the



same may be said, but the face here, in its reposeful quiet, presents more of the aspect which prevailed in Miss Siddal, or even predominated. These five designs, taken collectively, may be regarded as marking a very fair average of the series eulogized by Brown and by Ruskin. Some were still better than these; some others slighter or less observable. It may be remarked that in all the five the dress is full and loose, without any trimming or ornament. Two or three of the other sketches were sent to Professor Norton at the time when he returned to Rossetti the water-colour of Clerk Saunders. There were, I think, at least three careful and very successful drawings done of Lizzie in her married days: not many more than that, if we except heads introduced into subject-paintings. ¶ The best list extant of paintings and drawings by my brother is, it is well known, that given by Mr. H. C. Marillier in his sumptuous volume "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," 1899. I will extract from it the more important works in which Elizabeth Siddal's face appears:—1850, Rossovestita; 1851, Beatrice at a Marriage Feast Denying her Salutation to Dante; 1852, The Meeting of Dante and Beatrice in Eden; 1853, Dante Drawing an Angel in Memory of Beatrice; 1855, The Annunciation (Mary washing clothes in a rivulet), Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah, The Maids of Elfen-Mere; 1856, Passover in the Holy Family; 1857, Designs for the Illustrated Tennyson, The Tune of Seven Towers, The Blue Closet, Wedding of St. George; 1858, A Christmas Carol, Hamlet and Ophelia; 1860, Bonifazio's Mistress, How they met Themselves; 1861, The Rose Garden, Regina Cordium; 1862, St. George and the Princess Sabra; 1863, Beata Beatrix. Of portraits of Lizzie, Mr. Marillier catalogues eleven, but this is a mere trifle as compared with the actual total. ¶ As to Miss Siddal's own designs, I may mention, besides those already specified, Jephthah's Daughter, The Deposition from the Cross,

The Maries at the Sepulchre, The Madonna and Child with an Angel, Macbeth taking the Dagger from his Wife who meditates Suicide, The Lady of Shalott, St. Cecilia, The Woful Victory. The St. Cecilia was evidently intended to illustrate Tennyson's poem The Palace of Art. It is a different composition from the same subject as treated by Dante Rossetti, but, like that, it certainly indicates the death of the saint (a point which does not appertain to the poem), and I have no doubt it preceded Rossetti's design, and therefore this detail of invention properly belongs to Miss Siddal. The Woful Victory is an incident which was to be introduced into Rossetti's poem The Bride's Prelude; that work, however, was not brought to completion, and the incident was never put into verse, but it appears in the published prose argument of the poem. I must not beguile the reader into supposing that these designs by Miss Siddal are works of any developed execution: some of them are extremely, and all comparatively, slight. But there is right thought in all of them, and a right intention as to how the thought should be conveyed in the structure of the composition. ¶ Specimens of Elizabeth Siddal's art are to be found in four books known to me—perhaps not in any others. These are "Tennyson and his Preraphaelite Illustrators," by G. Somes Layard, 1894; "Dante Rossetti's Letters to William Allingham," edited by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, 1897; "The English Preraphaelite Painters," by Percy H. Bate, 1899; and Marillier's book previously named, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," 1899. There is likewise her portrait of herself in my Memoir of Dante Rossetti published along with his Family letters, 1895. ¶ I will conclude this brief account of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal by saying that, without overrating her actual performances in either painting or poetry, one must fairly pronounce her to have been a woman of unusual capacities, and worthy of being espoused to a painter and poet.

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED PACK OF LYONNESE PLAYING-CARDS (1470)

✠ WRITTEN BY HENRI BOUCHOT, KEEPER OF PRINTS AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FRANCE ✠



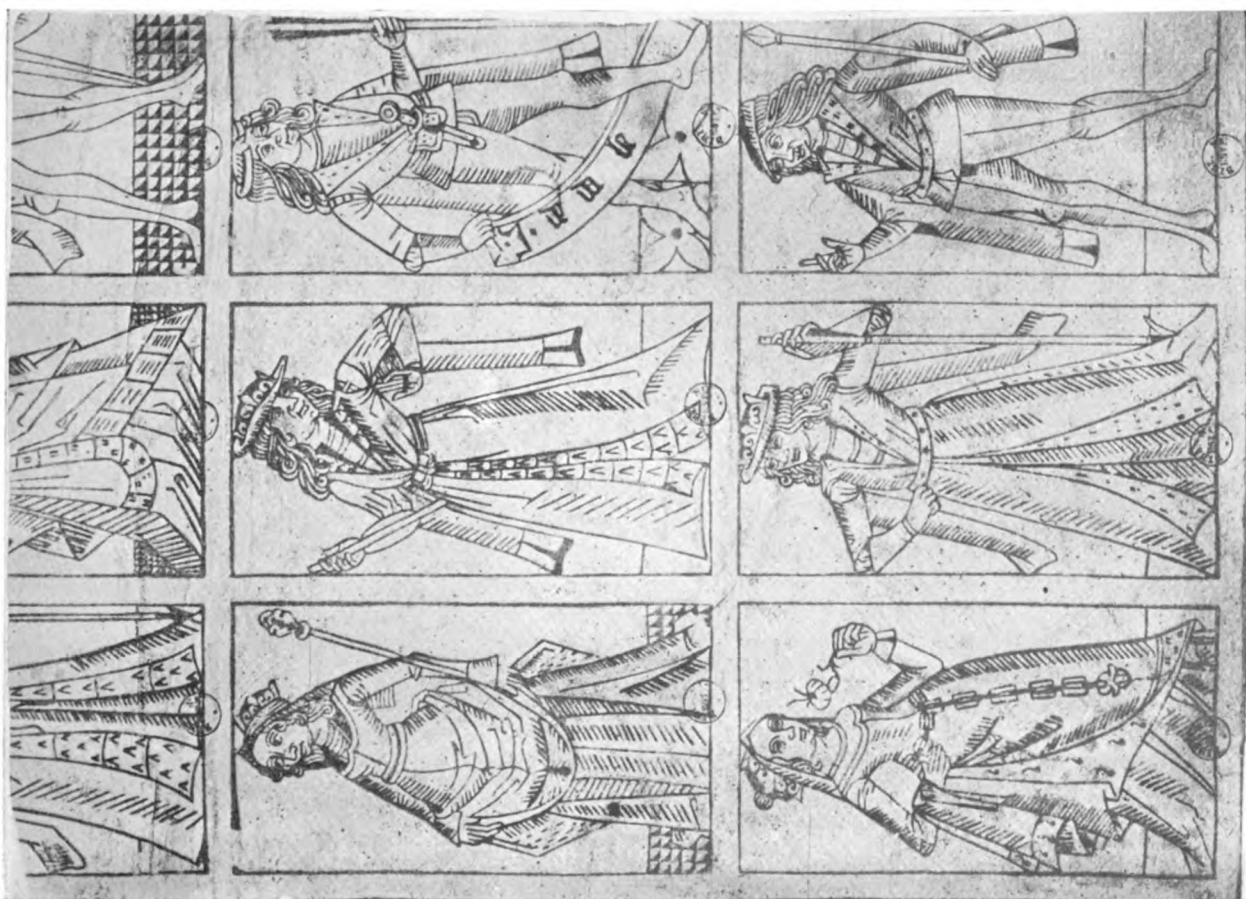
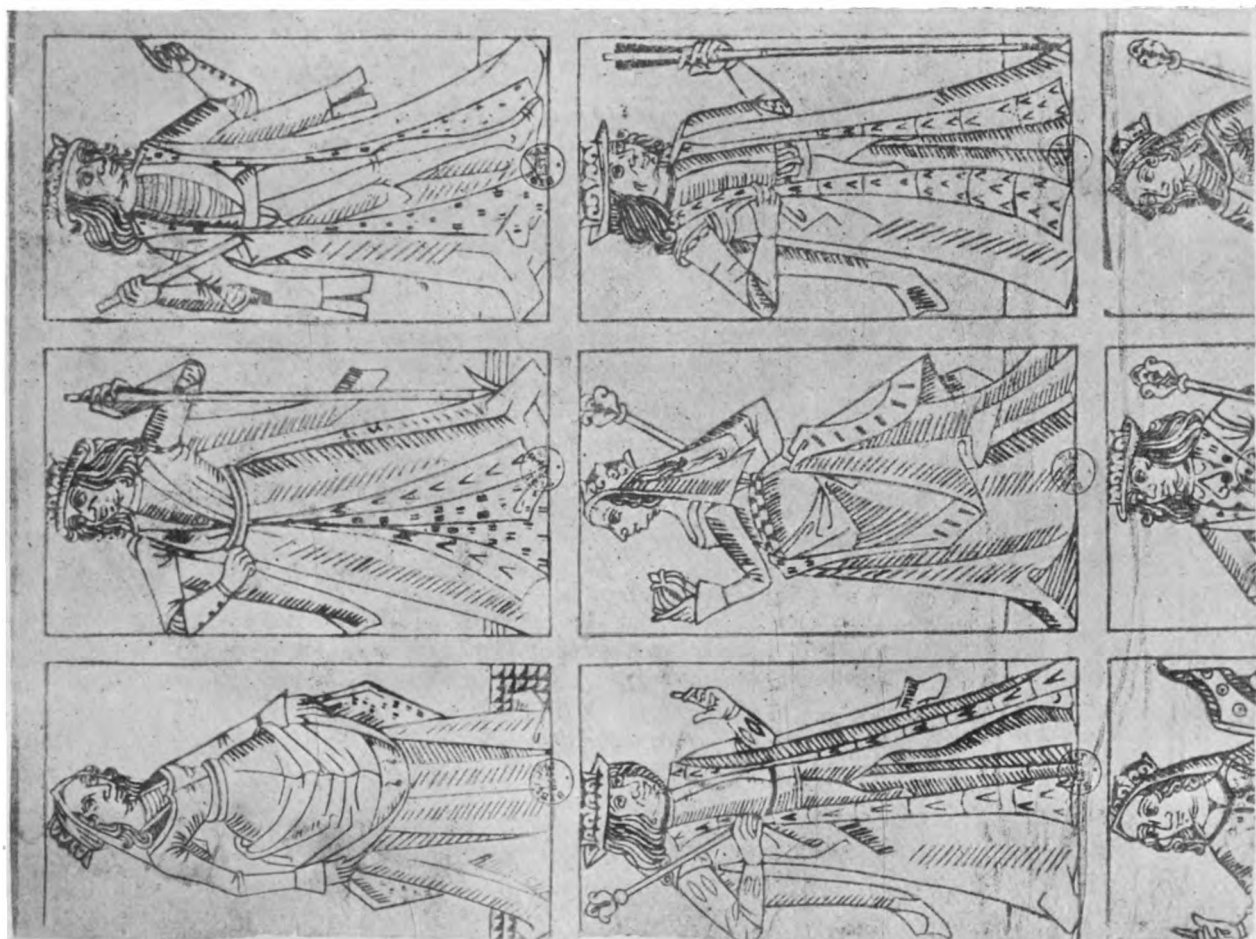
DIFFERENT works have lately revealed to us the considerable and hitherto unknown share taken by the Lyonnese district in the spread of wood-engraving.

We now know that the region extending from Dijon, through Lyons, to Grenoble, especially the Cistercian country, containing the two great mother-abbeys of Cîteaux and Cluny, was, from the earliest times, a centre of production of the engraver's art. I have studied, in its smallest details, a block engraved in the fourteenth century and coming from the monastery of La Ferté-sur-Grosne,¹ a daughter-house to Cîteaux, and the conclusions at which I arrived have been accepted by the best-qualified French and German experts. ¶ Since then I have had occasion to submit to the criticism of the specialists two documents of the highest interest. These two pieces, formerly published by Canon Dehaisnes, had never been understood. They show us simply one Jean Malouel, painter to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, cutting a copper-plate in relief to make engravings, and a certain carpenter called Jean Baudet, of Dijon, engraving "moulds," or wood-blocks, after the drawings of Beaumetz, the painter. The dates are 1393 and 1398, that is to say of the period of the block discovered at La Ferté-sur-Grosne: a proximity of date which is of considerable importance to the history of engraving on wood. ¶ Pending the time when a yet more exhaustive study will permit me to formulate certain matters of precision, notably as regards a printed canvas, now at Berne, representing, among other "histories," a

¹ *Un ancêtre de la gravure sur bois.* With sixty plates and an impression from the original wood-block (Paris: Lévy, 1902).

"Life of Oedipus," I should like to return to the question of priority, which is revived to-day and which has remained until our time without any likely solution. The Germans long retained for themselves the glory of having endowed the world with the art of printing, which proceeds from that of engraving on wood. Nowadays the means of persuasion put forth by the old German iconographers have singularly lost credit. Even we ourselves, who are hardly concerned with these somewhat special subjects, were able to distinguish to how great an extent the Chauvinism of our neighbours served them for arguments. I have succeeded in proving, statistics in hand, that, on several thousands of known incunabula, the German language appeared only some 100 to 150 times, not much oftener than the French, and that—which is more amusing!—the majority of the German inscriptions were inlaid on the wooden matrices, introduced by way of afterthought in engraved moulds, which, when all is said, must have been executed outside Germany. All these discussions have been set forth with references in my book, "*Les Deux cents incunables du Cabinet des Estampes*," which has just been published.¹ ¶ For a long time, as I was saying, we took no interest in these questions: both in engraving and painting we indulged, by preference, in the study of the Italian masters, resolutely scorning the Gothic work of our old primitives. The day came when we allowed the Flemings, and even the Germans, to pluck feathers from us, and now that these feathers have gone to adorn our neighbours' hats, it is a delicate matter to try to recover them.

¹ *Les Deux cents incunables xylographiques du Département des Estampes de Paris.* Two volumes: one volume of text, and one volume containing 200 plates in heliogravure (Paris: Lévy, 1903).



LYONNESE PLAYING CARDS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



LYONNESE PLAYING CARDS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Before the "bois Protat" (the block of La Ferté-sur-Grosne), the playing-card moulds of M. Vital-Berthin and certain incunabula of undoubted Lyonnese origin came to show us how little our special art had in common with German art of the same time, it was pretty readily admitted that, in the matter of relief-cutting, we came last. No one thought of investigating to find what Master E. S. or Martin Schongauer had borrowed from us, or to what extent all these so-called Germans in reality derived from the Burgundians their style, their craftsmanship and their genius properly so-called. Such an expression of opinion, made, for instance, in 1860, would have dumfounded our self-styled art-historians. Most of them were content more or less skilfully, in more or less resounding phrases, to cook up the remnants of Bartsch or Passavant, without adding any spice to the dish. And I am speaking of the famous ones: the reader can judge of the rest for himself. It even happened to superior minds, such as Natalis Rondot—Lyonnese though he was, but an enlightened man endowed with absolute scientific honesty—that, hypnotized by fine phrases handed down to them, they too went declaiming the German or Italian dithyramb, without further thought or care. M. Natalis Rondot searched the records of his native city through, discovered in them the elements of excellent books, and spoke of the engravers on wood, of the card-makers, of all the workers in that special craft; but he never fails to invoke Germany or Flanders as the mother of the engraving arts, as he sets about determining the styles perceived in Lyons.¹ He names to us almost without conviction the Lyonnese engravers of the first half of the fifteenth century; this seems to him an act of high treason, an insult to the "Form-schneider" of Ulm or Augsburg, whose precious names Passavant enumerates for us. In fact, even in the case of certain card-makers,

¹ Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, Lyons produced more than 3,000 artists of all kinds. No town in Europe, with the exception of Paris, has given us so many.

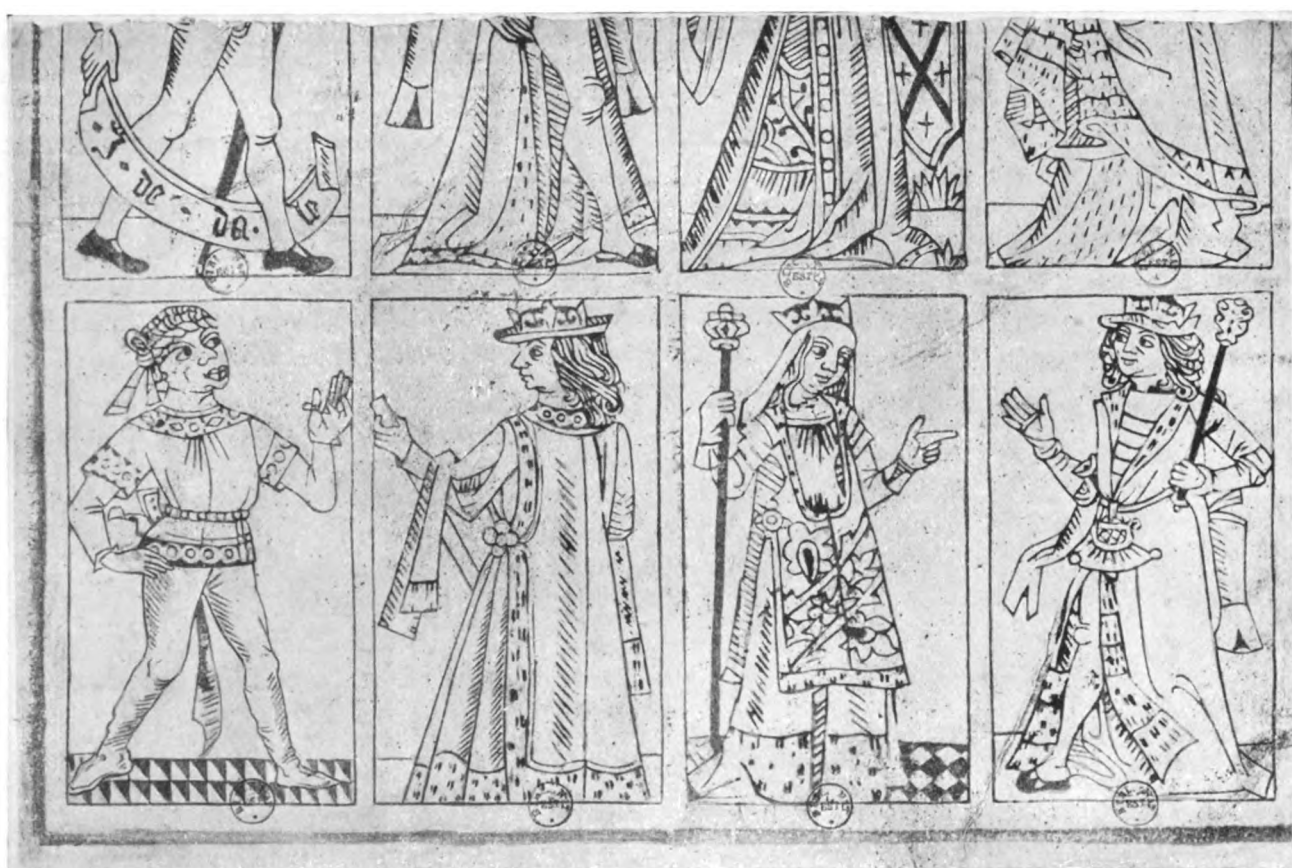
it seems to him that it is impossible ever to meet with works duly signed by those men. It is so rare, he says and believes, to come across an old picture that permits of a doubt! "Playing-cards of undoubted Lyonnese make are very rare," he says, in his book, "Les Graveurs sur bois et les imprimeurs à Lyon" (p. 14). And he is able to give only one name, that of a certain Antoine de Logirieira, whose name is inscribed on a scroll placed at the feet of the knaves. Cards of this make are owned by M. Le Blanc, of Brioude, and are the only specimens known. Now, as the "Nommées" of Lyons, that is to say the City Registers, mention an "Antoine the Card-maker" of 1493 to 1507, Natalis Rondot identifies him with Logirieira. But the name is a foreign one; there is nothing to tell us that this artist was not imported from some other district; in short, his appearance here makes for the theories favourable to the Transalpines. ¶ No doubt, the original moulds owned by M. Eolde-Berthin of Lyons, although discovered in Dauphiné, are evidences of Lyonnese manufacture; but their date is unknown. Merlin has published them in his work. In my opinion these are French engravings, probably Lyonnese, of 1450 or 1460. The costumes are of that time and can hardly mislead us by so much as fifteen years. One of the phrases most often repeated by the old historians of engraving is that the pictorial types are followed up for a long time, that certain models extend from 1450 to 1500, almost without change. This is radically false. No card-maker ever copies slavishly—except the "tarotiers" of our own day—and each always marks his date and his origin by some detail. The moulds of M. Eolde-Berthin, therefore, belong, within ten years, to the middle of the fifteenth century. They are the most important relics of Lyonnese production, but not the most incontestable, because they are not signed by a known card-maker. ¶ Among the card-makers mentioned by M. Natalis Rondot in the book

A Newly-discovered Pack of Lyonnese Playing-Cards (1470)

quoted above there figures a certain Jean de Dale, whom the author identifies with one Master I. D., who engraved for Trechsel, the publisher, the frontispiece of the "Quadragesimale aureum" and an "Ars moriendi." Of course M. Rondot declares him to be inspired by the Flemings, because he beholds in this I. D. some connection with the methods of engraving established in the North of France. In reality, I. D. has nothing to do with Jean de Dale. M. Rondot mixes up two artists. I. D. is whoever you please; but we are certain to-day that he is not Jean de Dale, because the latter is at present the best-known and the surest of all the Lyonnese engravers of the second half of the fifteenth century. Moreover, Jean de Dale, if he is not expressly a Lyonnese by birth, is a Bressan, from Dalles, in the arrondissement of Bourg, which forms part of the Department of Ain. Bourg is near Saône-et-Loire, and not far from La Ferté-sur-Grosne, from Cluny, from the country of the oldest engravers on wood. There is therefore some probability in looking upon Jean de Dale, who is called a Bressan in the "Nommées" of Lyons,¹ as a product of the soil, something of a Burgundian, an indisputable Frenchman, who never heard tell of the "Formschneider" of Ulm, nor the "Kartenmaler" of beyond the Rhine. He was a traditionary, one who received the secret of his craft from his father, or from some local patron, and who had learnt to draw elegantly, to engrave soberly, to colour also and to make the finished card. We find him to be a great person at Lyons in 1477, and he must then have worked since long and achieved success, in order to occupy a high post in the municipal police. Rondot was in any case none too well informed concerning him; but new documents discovered in the Lyons Archives show that Jean de Dale held a superior position during the last twenty years of the century, that he was in command of a civic company and that his name stands for that

¹ Lyons Archives, E.E., 1492: "Jehan de Dalles, card-maker, a native of Breysse, has ordered sallets, gauntlets and voulges"—arms needed by the town-guard.

of a big merchant, a man who has made his mark. ¶ Until last year, however, this considerable personage stood revealed to us only by the accounts and references mentioned above. No one knew, M. Natalis Rondot himself did not know, whether Jean de Dale had his origin in France or in Germany. We know that he was wrong in identifying him with the owner of the initials I. D., who was regarded as a Fleming in style and taste. The name of Dale left many a doubt with M. Rondot, because the false scent of I. D. supplied him with an erroneous element of comparison. The epithet of "Bressan," supplied by the town records concerning him, seemed somewhat risky. It is a remarkable thing—and I must proclaim it here aloud—to see how far Natalis Rondot, a Frenchman, and consequently liable to be suspected of hyper-enthusiasm, of Chauvinism, remains behind and beneath Bartsch and Passavant in this respect. His words are marked by extreme prudence, while the illustrious Passavant digs and burrows into these questions like a schoolboy and supplies us with the maximum of forged indications. M. Rondot is full of reserve in all that touches Jean de Dale; he shows him working at Lyons from 1450 to 1480: Jean de Dale is therefore a man born somewhere about 1430, who is fifty years of age in 1480, and has reached his apogee before that time. ¶ The cards acquired by the Print Room in 1902 remove every doubt on the subject of this illustrious Lyonnese card-maker. Henceforth Jean de Dale, or Dalles, the Bressan, is classed, and his condition is more assured than that of Martin Schongauer himself. A fifteenth-century engraver, whose place of birth is known to us, as is his age almost to a year, concerning whom we have documentary evidence of various kinds, and who has left us a signed work, signed in the manner of the card-makers, on a scroll twisted round the legs of the knaves in the pack! A mere accident determined that Jean de Dale should thus spring to life from every proof, and come to show the great



LYONNESE PLAYING CARDS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

usefulness to us of the admirable labours of Natalis Rondot. But for him, Jean de Dale would have been unknown and long remained so. ¶ The cards of the pack engraved by Jean de Dale were discovered by M. Leclerc, the bookseller in the Rue Saint-Honoré and the successor of Techner, in the binding of a Gothic St. Jerome, possessed of no other interest. He received splendid offers, for, before submitting them to his customers, he had made inquiries and knew the value of his possession; but he listened only to the proposal of the Keeper of Prints, which was not the most magnificent. Thanks to his disinterestedness, the fifty-six cards forming the almost perfect pack are now in the collection which is the richest in unique specimens in Europe. A less complete set is the property of M. Jean Masson; it was found in the same place, and was exhibited in 1902 at the School of Fine Arts. ¶ As may be seen from the accompanying reproductions, these numbered card figures are in the finest state of preservation. The leaves on which they were printed were glued together in the form of thick cardboard and preserved from tearing. They are connected through certain of the figures with the playing-card "moulds" of M. Eolde-Berthin, which I have mentioned, and with a set of the "Nine Worthies," with inscriptions in French, engraved about 1450-60. In my opinion, the engraver of the "Worthies" is identical with the engraver of our cards, the Lyonnese card-maker Jean de Dalles, or Dale. ¶ It has often been contended that the whole of our French art of wood-engraving drew its inspiration at the same time from the Germans in matters of craftsmanship and from the Italians for general æsthetic effect. There is no greater fiction. Jean de Dalles' playing-cards display the types of Moorish executioners which we encounter in the French and even in the Parisian miniatures of the

thirteenth century. We see similar figures on a canvas printed in the County-Venaissin at the end of the fourteenth century, which is now included in the Museum at Berne, after having been long the property of M. d'Odet. A peasant on Jean de Dalles' cards is seen again in a "Dance of Death" by Marnef, dated 1460. Other figures are Frenchmen of about 1480, of the time of our King Charles VIII; they have borrowed nothing from the Italians, still less from the Germans. It is the latter who have adopted their fashions, as I do not fear to say. ¶ As to their being the product of a spontaneous generation, budding into being under the life-giving inspiration of the Germans of Augsburg, the Lyonnese card-makers are now able to defend themselves. The art of wood-cutting in relief had been practised during at least 150 years—since the middle of the fourteenth century—when Jean de Dalles executed his pack of cards. The proof of this is to be found in the enamelled pavements of Argilly, which were obtained with relief moulds, in the block of La Ferté-sur-Grosne, probably cut between 1370 and 1380, in record references to Jean Baudet, of Dijon, in 1393, and to Jean Malouel in 1398. And there was a great iconographic movement everywhere: at Cluny, at Tournus, at Saint-Claude-du-Jura, at Vienne, at Valence, at Avignon, and throughout the Rhone Valley. Jean de Dalles, born in Bresse, did not travel very far in search of his trade. He taught himself drawing and wood-cutting at Dijon or at Saint-Claude, perhaps even in his father's joiner's shop: Jean Baudet of Dijon was a simple carpenter! Jean de Dalles' pack of playing-cards, supported as it is by most authentic record references, becomes one of the most important documents of French iconography of the fifteenth century, for the reason that we are definitely acquainted with the name and origin of the artist who engraved them.

A Newly-
Discovered
Pack of
Lyonnese
Playing-
Cards (1470)

A FORGOTTEN PAINTER

✿ WRITTEN BY LANGTON DOUGLAS ✿



AMONGST the artists who played an important part in art history, and yet have been forgotten, or well-nigh forgotten, is Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta. His name did not occur in Mr. Berenson's list of Central Italian painters,¹ and in the most recent accounts of the school of Siena he is not mentioned, or is dismissed in a single line. Neglect is the forerunner of exaggeration. The man who realizes keenly that a dogma or an individual has been overlooked is prone to over-rate the importance of the one or the other. I will strive to avoid this form of heresy. Let it be admitted that Sassetta was not an artist of the first rank. Nevertheless he produced one of the most beautiful of the religious pictures of the age of Fra Angelico. And his historical importance is greater than his artistic importance; for he was one of the fathers of Umbrian painting, and exercised an important influence on succeeding masters of his own school.

Sassetta was born in 1392. The first notice that we have of him is of the year 1427. In that year the *operai* of the Duomo set about finishing the long-projected font of San Giovanni. Jacopo della Quercia, who is generally credited with having been the author of the original design of the font, was away in Bologna, where he had been for more than two years. The old design, made about the year 1416, must have been incomplete, or have required modification in some way; for, in Jacopo's protracted absence, the authorities commissioned Stefano di Giovanni to make a design for the completion of the font. There was nothing strange or unusual in the course that they took in applying to a painter for such a draw-

ing.¹ In those days Art was regarded as one, and an artist expressed himself in many different mediums. In Siena itself, Lippo Memmi had supplied the design for the completion of the Mangia tower, a work originally planned by two of the greatest architects of their age. It is impossible to say how much the font owes to Sassetta. But that some details of it are of his invention cannot be doubted. For after this, the only design for it of which any record exists had been furnished, the work upon it was actively recommenced.² ¶ Between the years 1430 and 1432, Stefano made an altar-piece for the chapel of S. Bonifazio, in the cathedral, at the order of the Lady Ludovica, wife of the distinguished Knight, Turino di Matteo, sometime *operaio* of the Duomo.³ After he had executed this commission, Sassetta, in the year 1433, painted a crucifix for the church of San Martino.⁴ Three years later he finished one of his most beautiful works, the Madonna and Saints, in the church of the Osservanza, near Siena. In the following year, in 1437, occurred the most memorable event of his career. On September 3 of that year he signed an agreement⁵ to execute an altar-piece for the church of S. Francesco, at Borgo San Sepolcro. ¶ The artist engaged to make a large *ancona*, painted on both sides with "histories" and figures. It was to be the work of the

¹ The entry recording the payment for the design still exists in the Siena Archives:—"A maestro Stefano di Giovanni dipintore, lire quaranta quatro; so' per uno disegno fece nella chiesa di san Giovanni nostro, della forma del Battesimo si die fare." Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Archivio dell' opera del Duomo, Libro d'Entrata e d'Uscita, ad annum*, at c. 65.

² Pietro del Minella was the sculptor entrusted with the carrying out of the design. Towards the end of March 1428 Quercia came to Siena for a brief visit, and gave Pietro some advice and assistance in the work upon which he was engaged. But in June, the master was back in Bologna again, and the work was continued without his aid. He returned, however, to Siena in September, and superintended the completion of the font.

³ Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese*, Siena, 1854, vol. ii., p. 244; and Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, Siena, 1898, p. 145.

⁴ Tizio, *Storia Senese*. MS. in the Bibl. Com., vol. iv.

⁵ Borghese e Banchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 120. The Document is in the Archivio at Florence. See *Rogiti di Ser Francesco Sisti del Borgo S. Sepolcro, Protocollo del 1437*.

¹ "Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance," New York and London, 1897.



THE FONT IN THE CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI, SIENA

master himself, and was to be made as beautiful as the art of the painter could make it. The altar-piece was to be completed in four years. It was not, however, until 1444 that the artist received the final payment for it.¹ In the meantime he had visited Umbria, and had probably executed other commissions there. ¶ In the closing decade of his life, Stefano was frequently employed upon public works. He painted some banners for the Duomo. He also designed the borders of some vestments for the cathedral church, a work for which he was admirably fitted, as his figure of St. Ambrose, in the Osservanza altar-piece, proves. For the hospital of S. Maria della Scala, he painted a portrait of one of the greatest of Sienese saints, S. Bernardino, whose fiery eloquence he had doubtless often listened to in the Piazza del Campo; and for the government of the day he made certain "little pictures,"² of a similar character, perhaps, to the *tavollette* of the Biccherna, still preserved in the Archivio at Siena. Finally, on May 3, 1447, he was commissioned³ to complete the decoration in fresco of the great Roman Gate, a work which Taddeo di Bartolo had begun thirty years before. It was whilst he was engaged upon this task that he received his death-blow. The work was well advanced towards completion when, on some bleak winter day in 1450, the artist, painting on his high platform, was "stabbed through and through by the sharp sou'-wester," "percosso dal vento marino."⁴ He died in great poverty, after a long and painful illness, at the close of that year.

Of Sassetta the most important works that remain are his Nativity of the Virgin at Asciano, his Madonna and Saints at the Osservanza, his Madonna and Saints at Cortona, his Annunciation in the church

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Perg. S. Francesco di Siena*, Cas. No. 1,274. The document is given in Borghesi and Banchi. *Nuovi Documenti*, pp. 142-144. But it was known to students long before the publication of that work.

² Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

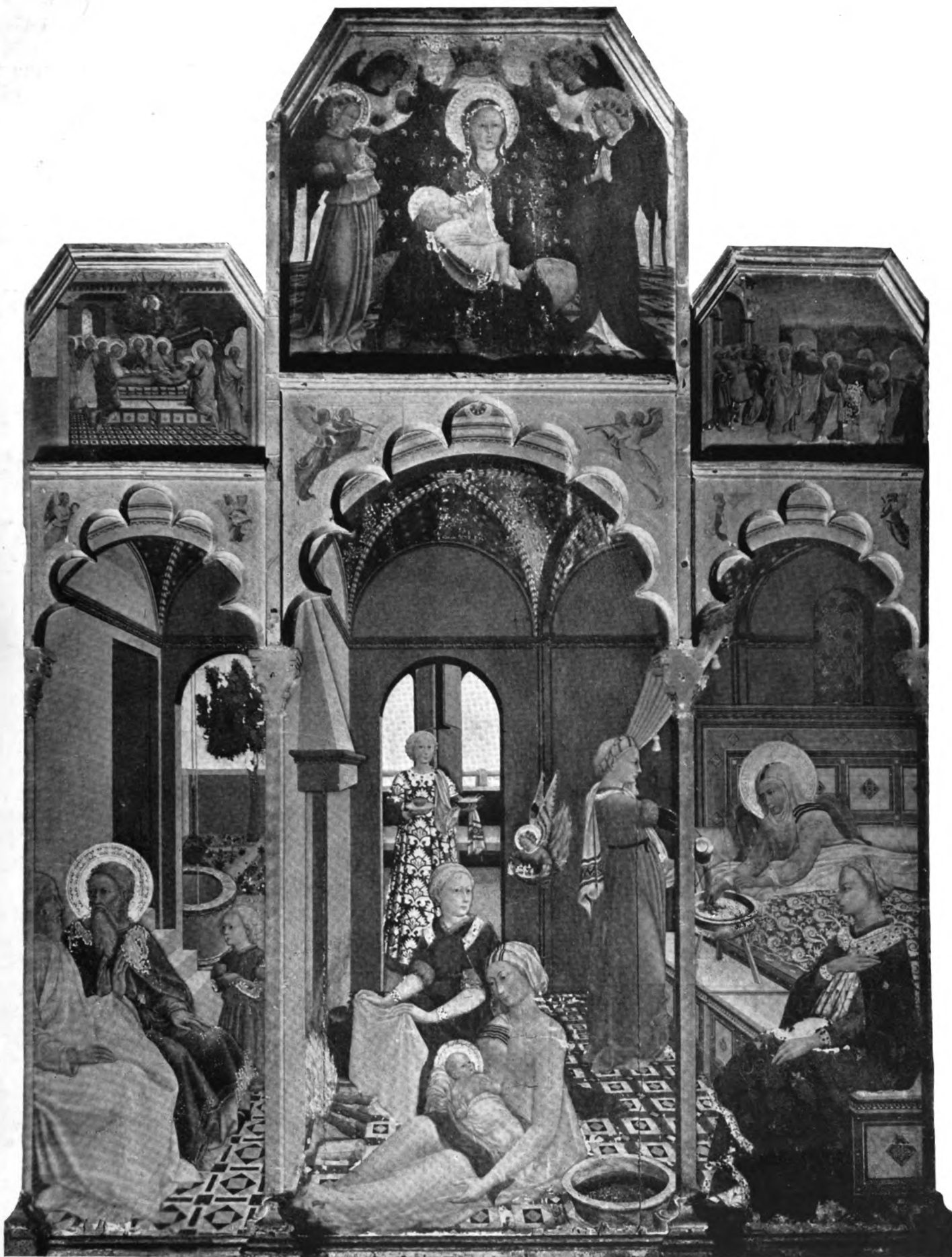
⁴ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Consistoro*, Scritture di 1451. See Borghesi and Banchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-169.

of S. Pietro Ovale in his native city, his A Forgotten Mystic Marriage of St. Francis at Chantilly, a small Adoration of the Magi in the Palazzo Saracini at Siena, and his great fresco of the Porta Romana, which was finished by Sano di Pietro.¹ ¶ We will examine these works in order, and will see what they tell us as to the provenance of the painter, the chief peculiarities of his style, and his influence. ¶ And first we will look at the Nativity of the Virgin at Asciano. This altar-piece now hangs on the north wall of the choir of the Collegiata. It is a Gothic *ancona* in which four scenes are represented. Below, filling the lower part of its three compartments, is the Nativity of the Virgin. In the upper part are three pictures—a Madonna and Saints, a Death of the Virgin, and a Burial of the Virgin. ¶ In this painting Sassetta reveals himself as an imitator. Just as in our own literature, Surrey, coming after a period of literary decadence, ignored his immediate English predecessors, and imitated in part foreign models, in part the last great poet of his own race, so Sassetta was affected, though in a smaller measure than Surrey, by foreign influences, and imitated very closely the last great masters of his own school. ¶ And Stefano's achievement was not the stale repetition at fourth hand of a worn-out tradition. His following of one, at least, of the great early painters of Siena, of Simone Martini, was no mere continuance of a conventional mode of painting. Sassetta attempted, as we shall see, a genuine revival. He went back behind the conventional repetitions of Simone's themes to the fountain-head. He imitated, not as a slavish copyist but as an artist, some of Simone's own works. He strove to revive Simone's decorative ideal. And in a measure he succeeded. In his Annunciation, in his Mystic Marriage of St. Francis, in his Osservanza altar-piece, and, in a lesser degree, in the work before us, we find some-

¹ Another interesting work is the Madonna in the Berlin Gallery, No. 63A[634].

thing of that hieratic sumptuousness, that visionary beauty, that marvellous grace of line, that characterizes the Madonna and Saints of the right transept of the lower Church at Assisi, a picture which Sassetta himself must have seen in his wanderings in St. Francis' country. ¶ At a first superficial glance the Nativity of the Virgin seems to be a work of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti. In the general design of the picture, and here and there in the colouring, Sassetta, as Bartolo di Fredi had done before him, copied Pietro's picture of the same subject now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena. But a closer examination of the work shows that its author was yet more powerfully influenced by Simone Martini. In Sassetta's fineness of technique, in his grace of line, in the cold, virginal beauty of his female types, in the transparency of his flesh tints, in his love of gorgeous vestments richly bordered and heavy with gold, and in various details of style, such as the delicately-modelled hands he paints, with their long, graceful fingers, we can trace the influence upon him of the greatest of Sienese masters. Although the Nativity of the Virgin is the work of a young man, of an artist as frankly imitative as Chaucer was in his first period of literary effort, we can detect behind it, as we can in some of Chaucer's translations, the presence of a new and potent personality. We already discover, too, here and there certain marked idiosyncracies of style. These peculiarities are especially noticeable in his female figures. He favours tall, lithe forms, with high waists, small but well-formed breasts, and long, straight arms. But although he chooses somewhat slender types, his modelling of these types shows a more subtle appreciation of form than is revealed in the works of his follower Sano di Pietro, or of any of his immediate predecessors. His colour, too, is far more transparent than that of Sano—this is especially noticeable in the flesh tints. A form entirely characteristic of Sassetta's art is that of the woman seated

who nurses the infant Mary. This figure, in different attitudes, is repeated in other works of the master. ¶ In the case of personages represented standing, the right knee is often flexed, and shows itself underneath the robe. Three broad, heavy folds hang from the centre of the waist in front. This peculiarity is most marked: we find it again in Sassetta's pictures, until the trick becomes so pronounced that in the great work of his maturity, the Mystic Marriage of St. Francis, the drapery of every single figure turned towards the spectator is arranged in this way. In the *Asciano ancona* this peculiarity is twice repeated. It occurs in the figure of the woman pouring water over St. Anna's hands, and, very typically, in the figure of the rose-crowned angel standing to the right of the Blessed Virgin in the Madonna and Child in the upper part of the altar-piece. ¶ The heads of the women that Sassetta paints are broad and round, even broader and rounder than those of Sano. The hair is generally arranged in two broad fillets or plaits passing above the forehead and round the nape of the neck. The eyebrow is much arched. The eyelids are heavy. The iris of the eye is dark, large, well-defined, and even prominent. The mouth is small and full, and there is a pronounced dimple under the lower lip. The ear is rather large and long, but it is frequently covered, and when uncovered has little that is peculiar or characteristic. ¶ The hands in Sassetta's pictures are modelled with great care, and the artist is careful to differentiate clearly between the hands of the old, the young, and the middle-aged. As his style became more mature his hands are more and more individualized. But even in this early work they have a considerable amount of character. Contrast the hands of the infant Mary, of the young woman nursing the child, and of St. Anna and Zacharias. The baby's hands are broad and chubby. The girl's hand is soft and well covered with flesh, and has long, shapely fingers. The hands



THE NATIVITY, DEATH, AND BURIAL OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, FROM THE ALTAR-PIECE BY STEFANO DI GIOVANNI (SASSETTA) AT ASCIANO

of the old people are thin and reveal their framework of bone. In his later works the hands are yet better drawn, and are as different as possible from the somewhat characterless, generalized hands of his follower Sano. This altar-piece, too, early as it is, tells us something about Sassetta's artistic children. In the artist who painted the Madonna and Child we find the master who exercised so strong an influence over Giovanni di Boccatis, and, through him, over Buonfigli. The rose-crowned angels who surround the Virgin's throne might almost have been painted by the young Giovanni. The wide landscape of low hills dotted with olive trees in the Burial of the Virgin foretells the glorious background of the Mystic Marriage of St. Francis, a picture which exercised a most important influence in one of the birth-places of the Umbrian school of painting, in Borgo San Sepolcro. ¶ A very characteristic work by Sassetta, which, because it has suffered little by restoration, is very useful for studying the artist's admirable technique, his great qualities as a colourist, and his fine painting of flesh, is the Osservanza altar-piece. In the central panel the child is represented standing erect on the Virgin's knee. On either side are the figures of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome. Above, in the architectural framework of the picture, is a Christ Blessing between a St. Peter and a St. Paul, and, in two *tondi*, a representation of the Annunciation. ¶ This picture, placed as it is in an edifice which contains works by Sassetta's pupil Sano di Pietro, enables us to define accurately the not inconsiderable differences between the styles of the younger and the older master. We see that Sassetta's modelling is more subtle and less generalized than that of his pupil. In the hands and faces he paints there is, as we have already remarked, much more character. His flesh tints are more transparent, as, in fact, is all his colour. His whole technique, too, is much finer than that of Sano. And

this is just what we would expect from our knowledge of the man. Sassetta worked slowly, and his total achievement was small in quantity. Sano was a facile manufacturer of altar-pieces, who could execute a great *ancona* in a few months. No less than six score of his works still remain. Adapting a sentence of a biographer of François de Belleforest, we might say that Sano "had a mill for making pictures." ¶ A painting closely allied to Sassetta's Osservanza altar-piece is the Annunciation at S. Pietro Ovile. In this work Sassetta reveals himself as a frank imitator of Simone himself—as one who goes back behind the convention to the fountain-head, as one who, whilst learning from the master, does not altogether lose his own individuality, but seeks to make the old work of art a starting-point for a new creation, an episode in the initiation of a true reformation in art. The picture that he chose for imitation was the Annunciation of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, which was then in the Duomo at Siena. His reproduction of it was entirely artistic. He translated it into his own personal dialect; but so happily that, whilst some new beauties were added, little of the charm of the original work was lost in the process. ¶ A close comparison of this picture with the Osservanza altar-piece will convince the connoisseur of the correctness of this attribution. No other follower of Simone save Sassetta could have painted this Annunciation. For in the achievement of no other Sienese master that lived and laboured in the hundred years following Simone's death do we find the same transparent flesh, the same exquisite technique, the same delicate drawing of heads and hands. In attitude, in type, and in various details of drawing, the Virgin of the S. Pietro Ovile Annunciation resembles the Virgin in one of the two *tondi* of the Osservanza *ancona*. But it is in the flesh-painting that Sassetta's hand is most clearly revealed. The head of the angel Gabriel in the Annunciation and the head of the Madonna in

A Forgotten Painter

the central panel of Stefano's picture in the convent church came from the same brush. Unfortunately, Sassetta's achievement was not always of this quality. In middle life he fell for a time under the influence of Domenico di Bartolo; that he had seen that master's altar-piece at Perugia, painted in 1438, is shown by the St. John the Baptist of the Cortona picture. In the side panels of the picture are also represented St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Michael, and St. Margaret. The St. Nicholas of Bari recalls the St. Ambrose of the Osservanza *ancona*. The chasuble is a most gorgeous vestment, and is admirably painted. The hands too are full of individuality. But the head of the saint is not equal in conception to that of the great Father of the Church in the Osservanza picture. In the decorative framework are large *tondi* representing the Annunciation, a favourite subject with this artist. It is in the representation of the infant as well as in the St. John the Baptist that we trace the influence of the somewhat showy realism of Domenico's second manner. The whole picture is inferior in technique to Sassetta's other works, and suggests the intervention of another hand. Stefano, however, soon returned to his own characteristic style and achieved one more masterpiece, his greatest, before he met his untimely death. ¶ In the year 1437, as we have seen, he was engaged to paint an *ancona* for the high altar of the church of S. Francesco at Borgo San Sepolcro. This work consisted of a great triptych, or polyptych, adorned on both sides with "histories" and figures. The subject of the central panel was the Coronation of St. Francis. This picture, which was in the Lombardi Collection at Florence about sixty years ago, has since disappeared. The only portion of the *ancona* that remains is one of the side panels in which is represented The Mystic Marriage of St. Francis. In the year 1837 this painting was in the Demidoff Collection, and was then catalogued as by an unknown painter. Subsequently, in

1840, it was bought by M. Reiset from Messrs. Mention and Wagner. In 1879 it passed into the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, and has since been one of the glories of the collection at Chantilly. In pre-Morelian times it was given by some one who knew nothing of its history to Sano di Pietro, and this attribution has been generally accepted, even by scientific critics.¹ ¶ In this panel St. Francis is represented clad in the brown habit of his order. Accompanied by a brother religious, he advances eagerly to meet his spiritual brides, Chastity, Poverty, and Humility. He bends forward and, with his right arm extended, places a ring on the finger of Poverty, the central figure of the group of three virgins. Chastity, Poverty, and Humility are three tall, lithe, graceful figures, forming one fair unity, like the notes of a beautiful chord. Chastity in white, with arms crossed upon her breast, looks into the eyes of the saint, her spouse. Poverty, the most favoured of the bridal trinity, wears a robe similar in hue to that of her beloved. Her feet are bare. She looks down pensively at the ring. Humility, robed in red, like Chastity, fixes her eyes upon St. Francis. ¶ In the upper part of the picture on the right the three women are represented returning to heaven, floating upwards in the pure ether. Poverty, as the bride most favoured, looks back at the Saint as though regretting to leave him, but knowing that he will follow one day, leaving behind all earthly possessions. The *ancona* was admirably planned, for this was the panel to the left of the high central scene towards which the three symbolical figures are represented ascending. The "history" of the central panel was the Coronation of St. Francis, and the scene of the event heaven itself. ¶ Behind the figures of the composition is a landscape of singular beauty. The sun is rising over the valley of the Tiber. Monte Subasio stands out dark against the eastern sky. On its lower

¹ Berenson, "Central Italian Painters," New York and London, 1897, pp. 55 and 175. Since the publication of my "History of Siena," I have heard that Mr. Berenson has renounced this opinion.



MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ST. NICHOLAS OF BARI, ST. MICHAEL, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND ST. MARGARET, FROM THE ALTAR-PIECE BY STEFANO DI GIOVANNI (SASSETTA) AT CORTONA

slopes is Assisi. To the right of the picture is the Portiuncula. Away to the north-east the hills, touched by the pale light of early morning, are grey and cold. The sky, spacious, clear, diaphanous, is of an opaline blue, and is very lofty, filling more than half the picture. Here again the spiritual significance of the scene is artistically enforced. The eye is drawn up to the infinite heavens. By this and other subtle means the artist conveys to us something of that sense of the wonder, mystery, and beauty of nature which filled St. Francis' own soul. In its beautiful mysticism, as in the spaciousness of its skyscape, this picture supplies the *leit motif* of some of the greatest and most characteristic of subsequent Umbrian compositions. The landscape of this picture ranks with one of the landscapes of Fra Angelico, and with the background of Benozzo Gozzoli's St. Francis preaching to the Birds at Montefalco as one of the earliest presentations in painting of the scenery of the great Umbrian valley. ¶ In this picture we discover all the chief characteristics of Sassetta's style. We find all the chief peculiarities we noted in the Asciano altar-piece. We see that the women represented are tall and slim with high waists. Their faces are round, and the hair is arranged round the head in two broad bands or fillets. Their bodies, virginal and even ascetic as they are, really exist under their long flowing robes. In no less than four of the figures in the picture, in fact in the case of all of them who are turned towards the spectator, we note, as I have already remarked, the somewhat tiresome repetition of a favourite attitude of Sassetta. The right leg is bent, and the robe falls into three heavy folds in the centre in front. In the modelling of the breasts and the arms, and in all other respects save that of posture, the figure of Chastity closely resembles that of the woman who nurses the infant Mary in the Nativity of the Virgin. All the three women are entirely characteristic of Sas-

setta, in the drawing of their heads as in the modelling of their bodies. The eye-brows are too much arched. The eyelid is full and round. The iris of the eye is dark and prominent. The whole colouring of the picture, and especially the flesh tints, are much more transparent than is the colouring of Sano. The technique, too, is finer and more miniature-like. The hands are more finely drawn and modelled, and have more character and individuality. ¶ When we concentrate our attention upon the landscape of the Mystic Marriage of St. Francis, we are again reminded of the picture at Asciano. The hilly country, dotted here and there with olive trees, recalls the background of the Burial of the Virgin. It is possible that Sassetta may have begun to study landscape at Cortona, when he was brought into contact with Fra Angelico's Visitation there, in which is to be found a view of Lake Trasimene. The *predella* of which the Visitation forms a part was then at S. Domenico, where Sassetta worked. Perhaps the Sienese was brought into direct contact with the Dominican painter. At any rate, the convent for which he laboured was redolent with recent memories of the artist-saint. ¶ It is possible, I think, to detect traces of Fra Angelico's influence in the Chantilly panel. But that influence over Stefano di Giovanni is more clearly seen in the small Adoration of the Magi at the Palazzo Saracini in Siena. This charming little work was, in fact, once attributed to the Florentine master himself. ¶ But though Sassetta was not uninfluenced by the leaders of the new movement in painting, he remained loyal on the whole to the decorative ideal of Simone. Beautiful pattern, bright, transparent colour, a hieratic sumptuousness—these were the chief elements of that ideal. Sassetta was the most loyal of the followers of the painter of the Coronation of King Robert, the loveliest altar-piece of the Trecento. ¶ Poor Stefano's last commission brought him ill-fortune in more ways than one. The decoration

A Forgotten Painter

of the Porta Romana was a task for which this maker of exquisitely-finished panels was quite unfitted. It gave him little opportunity to display the subtle and delicate qualities of his art. It revealed all his weaknesses. The fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, over the Roman gate, deserves almost all the severe things that Crowe and Cavalcaselle said about it. This commission caused, as we have seen, the death of the artist; it almost proved a death-blow to his reputation: for this is the painting that men point to as the chief work of Sassetta. ¶ But it was in Umbria, at the Osservanza, and at S. Pietro Ovile that the true Sassetta had free course and was glorified. His pictures at Borgo San Sepolcro and Cortona proved an inspiration to early Umbrian masters, and helped to fix the tendencies of that school. That Sassetta himself sojourned in Umbria, his view of the valley of the Tiber proves without a shadow of a doubt. Thus he takes his place, with Bartolommeo di Guido, Ugolino of Siena, Simone Martini, Pietro Lorenzetti, and Taddeo di Bartolo, as one of the Sienese parents of the Umbrian school. Nor did this stream of influence that flowed forth from old Siena, in the second quarter of the Quattrocento, water only the valley of the Tiber; it threaded the mountain rampart that forms that valley's eastern boundary, and helped to fertilize the Marches. The painters of Camerino and of Gualdo owed as much to Stefano di Giovanni as to any other Sienese. ¶ Nor was Sassetta without artistic children in his own Siena. Sano di Pietro was his follower, and Giovanni di Pietro¹ and Giovanni di Paolo repeated his types. But the art of Sano and his assistants never had the exquisite quality of the best works of the founder of their school. In their factories of pictures the motives of Sassetta were cheapened and vulgarized, his faults exaggerated, and his technique debased. As long as the master

¹ Giovanni di Pietro also assisted Matteo di Giovanni.

lived, his followers produced more or less satisfactory work. But after his death commercial considerations prevailed in the *bottega*. Sano, industrious, God-fearing workman that he was, put his sons into the business, and altar-pieces, banners, and *tavollette* were turned out by the score. He went to church regularly, and by his upright, laborious life justly won the esteem of his well-to-do fellow townsmen. Sano is an excellent example of the churchwarden in art. ¶ Sassetta, however, had one follower who had more than his master's share of genius. Matteo di Giovanni, the greatest Sienese master of the Quattrocento, learnt much from Vecchietta and more from Domenico di Bartolo, but Sassetta was the painter who exercised the strongest influence over Matteo's art. In his transparent colouring, and especially in his fine, subtle manner of painting flesh, in his sumptuousness, and in the other decorative qualities of his panels, Matteo surpasses the master whose work he had learnt perhaps to admire in Borgo San Sepolcro, the ancient home of his family.

The artist who made one of the most beautiful of all painted representations of Poverty himself became indissolubly wedded to her before his death; and in his case the marriage was not a love match, but an enforced union. A document in the Siena archives, which I have already made allusion to, gives us a pitiful picture of his last days. During a long illness the artist not only consumed all his poor substance, but also made other debts in addition to those he already had, which were not small. He left his wife and three babes without means of subsistence. Succeeding generations have not been less niggardly to this painter than were his contemporaries. It is time that "poor Maestro Stefano" received such meed as posterity can give, even though it be but the barren reward of posthumous praise.



THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. FRANCIS; BY STEFANO DI GIOVANNI (SASSETTA); IN THE CHANTILLY COLLECTION

CONCERNING TINDER-BOXES

✿ WRITTEN BY MILLER CHRISTY ✿

ARTICLE II.—DOMESTIC TINDER-BOXES

(continued)

THE more ordinary forms of the domestic tinder-box have now been noticed, together with some of its usual and necessary contents. The remaining contents (the flint "strike-a-light" and the sulphur-match), and the manner of using them in order to procure fire, have still to be described. ¶ The flint "strike-a-light" commonly used with the tinder-box was such as might be picked up anywhere in a flint-producing district. Obviously, however, a piece of flint shaped so that it could be held securely in the fingers during use, and possessed of a sharp clean striking facet, presented special advantages; and such strike-a-lights were manufactured specially at Brandon, in Suffolk, and elsewhere. They were of several kinds, the usual forms being square, oblong, circular, oval, or horseshoe-shaped in outline. These were sold commonly for a penny each in the London streets, by itinerant vendors, who often displayed their wares on a battered tin tea-tray, the rusty lid of an old fish-kettle, or some similar object. Strike-a-lights are still made at Brandon, chiefly for export to Spain, Italy, and the East. A number of types made for me by Mr. Fred Snare, of Brandon, are shown in Fig. XXIX. The larger examples are about two inches in breadth or diameter (as the case may be): the smaller, about one inch. Saint Brendan, who lived in the sixth century, took with him on his famous voyage "a fyr iron and a ston for to smyte fyr therwith." ¶ Among the personal badges or devices borne by the Dukes of Burgundy was that of a flint striking sparks from a *briquet* or steel, with the motto, *Ante ferrit, quam flamma micet* ("It strikes

before the flame sparkles"). Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had a special affection for the device, and caused it to be reproduced upon all his domestic utensils, tapestries, and the liveries of his servants. It is found occasionally on ancient encaustic tiles in churches in the Eastern Counties, whence considerable intercourse was maintained with Flanders, of which the Dukes of Burgundy claimed to be Counts. Such tiles exist in the churches of Witham and Maldon (St. Mary's), Essex. One of several

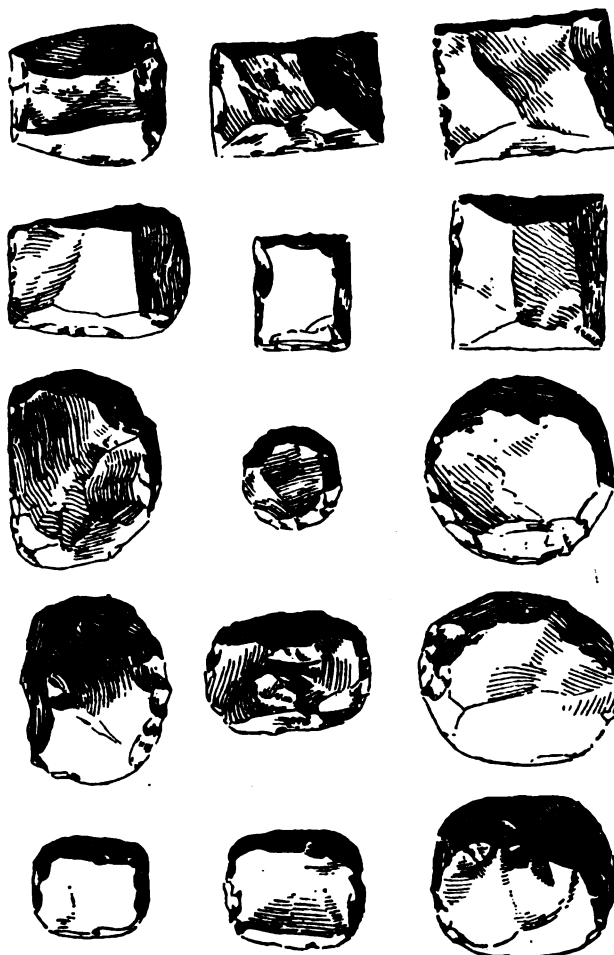


FIG. XXIX.—Flint "Strike-a-lights" made at Brandon, Suffolk (modern).



FIG. XXX.—Ancient Tile, showing Arms and Badge (flint, steel, and sparks) of the Dukes of Burgundy: from St. Mary's Church, Maldon, Essex.

in the latter is here shown (Fig. XXX). It is of about the middle of the fifteenth century, and bears in the centre the arms of the Dukes (but reversed and lacking the bordure), while the badge (a crown-shaped steel, surmounting a flint, with flying sparks) appears in the three uppermost corners. The same badge is repeated many times, in slightly differing forms, on a fine suit of horse-armour, of about the year 1500, in the Tower of London. Two of these forms are here reproduced. One (Fig. XXXI) shows two crown-shaped steels, placed on

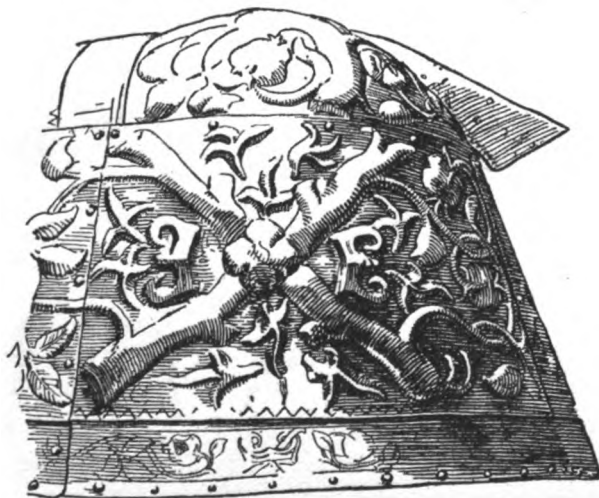


FIG. XXXI.—Badge of the Dukes of Burgundy: from a Suit of Horse-armour (date about 1500) preserved in the Tower of London.

each side of a cross formed of two staves raguly, with the flint stone surmounting the centre-point of the cross and many oddly-shaped straggling sparks flying around. The other (Fig. XXXII) shows a steel of somewhat different shape surmounting a cross-raguly, with the flint stone below and several flying sparks. The crown-shaped steel is again reproduced, however, in the two hinges of the armour which are shown also in this figure. The collar of the famous Burgundian Order of the Fleece was composed also largely of steels; while steels, flints, sparks, and fleeces of gold appeared on the border of the mantle of the Order. ¶ The only other article neces-



FIG. XXXII.—Badge of the Dukes of Burgundy (another form): from a Suit of Horse-armour (about 1500) preserved in the Tower of London.

sary for procuring fire from a tinder-box was the sulphur-match. To the present generation, the word "match" implies only that sort which ignites spontaneously when "struck." Originally, however, "match" was any substance which burned readily, though slowly. The piece of slow-burning hempen rope, steeped in a solution of saltpetre, which the old gunner carried in order to discharge his arquebus, was "match." It burned at the rate of about three feet in the hour. The old sulphur-match was intended, therefore, not to produce fire, but to convey fire, when pro-

duced, from the tinder to the candle. ¶ Sulphur-matches were made usually by splitting thin slips off the edge of a board of dry resin-



FIG. XXXIII.—Tin Pipkin (diam., $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.), used formerly for "dipping" Sulphur-matches: now in Lewes Museum.

ous red pine or other light inflammable wood, sharpening roughly each end, and dipping the tips in melted sulphur. They varied little, except in size. Those used with the ordinary round tinder-box (and still sometimes found therein) were about three inches long and a quarter-of-an-inch broad—just small enough to go inside with the flint and steel. A larger sort (intended, probably, for use with large wooden tinder-boxes) were as much as six inches long and half-an-inch broad. To secure ready inflammability, they were often made from the wood of old tar-barrels. "Here's your fine tar-barrel matches! Sixteen bunches a penny! Sixteen a penny!" was a common London street-cry up to about the year 1830. ¶ In the Museum at



FIG. XXXIV.—Tin Pipkin (diam., $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.), used probably for "dipping" Sulphur-matches: belonging to Mr. Chalkley Gould.

Lewes is a small circular tin vessel (Fig. XXXIII), said to have been used, many years ago, for melting sulphur when "dipping" the points of wooden sulphur-matches. Pro-

bably it is one of the "penny pipkins" which Concerning an old writer says were used commonly for Tinder- Boxes the purpose. Mr. Henry Balfour has another example which is exactly similar to that at Lewes. My friend, Mr. Chalkley Gould, of Loughton, Essex, has also a small tin pipkin (Fig. XXXIV) of somewhat similar kind, which may have been used for the



(a)



(b)



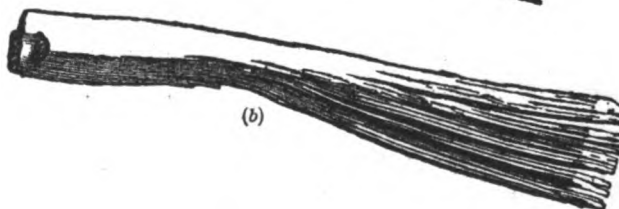
(c)

FIG. XXXV.—Wooden Sulphur-matches or "Spunks"—(a) modern (length, 6 ins.); (b) (length, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) in York Museum; (c) (length, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) in Lewes Museum.

same purpose, and Mr. Bidwell has another of exactly the same make. But these differ from that figured above in that they are fur-



(a)



(b)

FIG. XXXVI.—Wooden Sulphur-matches, belonging to Mr. Bidwell; (a) (length, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.), from Hungary; (b) (length 6 ins.), from Oxfordshire.

nished with a hinged lid. I shall be glad to hear from any reader who can throw clearer light on the original use and intention of these small tin vessels. ¶ Care was needed to see that the sulphur was not heated much above melting-point (about 120°C.), or it became viscid and was spoiled for the purpose in view. When it had set hard on the

tips of the matches, these were made up into little bundles (Fig. XXXV), containing a dozen each, and tied round with a piece of the commonest single-strand twine—often the unravellings of old stockings or other clothing. ¶ Wooden sulphur-matches were

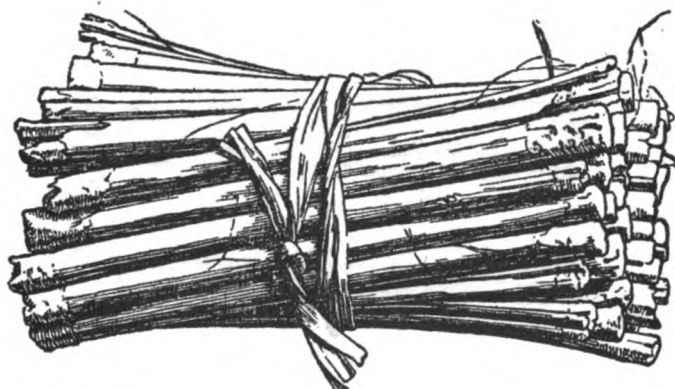


FIG. XXXVII.—Sulphur-matches (length, 5 ins.), made of the stalks of a plant (? Mustard) and belonging to Mr. Bidwell: from Holland.

not always made in separate slivers and tied in bundles. Sometimes a piece of suitable wood was split down many times from one end with a knife, but not so deeply as to separate completely the individual matches. Such bunches of matches (Fig. XXXVI) were, of course, pointed and dipped at one end only. Single matches were broken off the bunch as required for use. Occasionally, sulphur-matches were made of other material than wood. Those composing the large bundle next shown (Fig. XXXVII) are made of the light pithy stalks of some plant, broken into convenient lengths, and dipped at both ends. Sometimes sulphur-matches were made even of brown paper. Mr. Bidwell has some examples, made of this material, which he acquired in Wiltshire. One, here shown (Fig. XXXVIII*a*), is rhombic in shape and dipped at both ends. Others are irregularly triangular in shape, and the sharpest point only is dipped. Another kind (Fig. XXXVIII*b*), also made of brown paper, is represented by some examples—the only ones of the kind I have yet seen—in the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury. They are made out of a strip of brown paper, about two inches wide, which has been folded up several times, cut to a point at one end (but not

so as to separate the various sections), and dipped at the tip. The matches were, of course, torn off the roll, one by one, as required. Sulphur-matches were called in the vernacular “spunks”—a word derived, perhaps, from the Saxon *span*, meaning a chip, sliver, or shaving of wood. Modern matches are still sometimes called “spunks” in Scotland. ¶ Some kinds of matches are made, it is said, in Heaven; but sulphur-matches, surely, must have been made elsewhere! They were, indeed, often home-made. Most regular shop-keepers objected (Dr. Laver tells me) to stock them, for the fumes given off by the brimstone during the process of dipping were very offensive. Such trade as there was in them was left, therefore (in the country districts, at least), mainly in the hands of people of the tramp or gipsy class. These people made the matches themselves and carried them round for sale at the various houses at which they called as they tramped the country. Dr. Laver, who can remember these old peripatetic match-sellers, tells me that they generally carried their wares done up in rough cloth or sack-ing, tied at the four corners and slung over the shoulder by means of a stick. They could be recognized, as a rule (adds Dr. Laver), when passed on the road, by the smell of their clothing, which became in time so

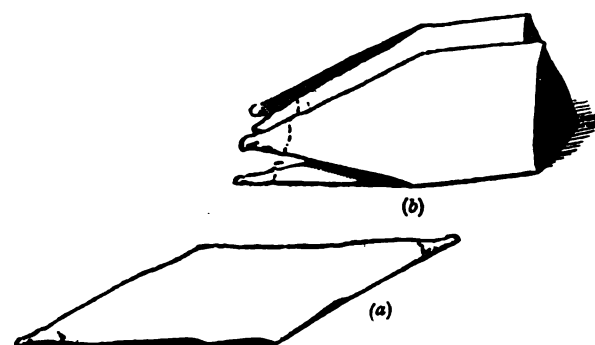


FIG. XXXVIII.—Sulphur-matches made of brown paper—(a) (length, 4½ ins.), belonging to Mr. Bidwell: from Wiltshire; (b) (length, 3½ ins.): in the Salisbury Museum.

permeated by the fumes of the sulphur as to betray the wearer's occupation. These “match-men” were often spoken of jocularly as “timber-merchants,” or, more correctly, as “small-timber merchants.” Many

years ago, a wag inserted in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* a notice of the marriage of John Smith, timber merchant, of Burnham, Essex, to Mary Jones (or some such names), also a timber merchant, of the same place. In London, matches were sold commonly by the poorest and raggedest class of street vendors—often old women or shirtless and stockingless men. They lived in lodging-houses in the poorest districts, as St. Giles, where they made the matches, carrying them round afterwards in a basket for sale. At the bottom of the basket was often the pipkin and the unused sulphur—probably the only other possessions of these meanest of gutter-merchants. Few houses of any pretensions escaped with less than one call a day from the match-sellers. Many readers will be familiar with the charming picture (engraved by Cardon), representing a female match-seller and her boy, which forms No. 4 of the well-known series, *The Cries of London*, by Francis Wheatley, R.A., published in 1794. “Matches! Buy my fine matches! Five bunches a penny!” was a common street cry as long as the trade lasted. The prices at which matches were sold seems to have varied considerably. Some old writers state that the usual price was either five or six bunches, of a dozen each, for one penny. Others say that it was twelve such bunches. ¶ The process by means of which fire was obtained from a tinder-box remains to be explained. First, the lid, with a piece of candle stuck in the socket, was removed and set close at hand. Next, the flint, steel, matches, and damper were taken out and also laid aside, one match being drawn from the bundle and laid ready for immediate use. The handle of the steel was then grasped in the left hand, and the flint was taken between the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand (Fig. XXXIX). Some authorities assert that the steel was held, bow end downwards, in the right hand, and that the flint, held in the left, was struck with it. No doubt some people followed this plan; but the method described above was

more convenient and much more usual. In either case, the flint and steel were held immediately over the tinder lying in the bottom of the open box. Nine inches was considered the proper distance between the steel and the tinder. This was measured roughly in the dark by placing the tip of the little finger on the upper rim of the tinder-box, spreading the hand upwards, and placing the bottom of the steel on the tip of the thumb. The correct distance thus ascertained, the steel was struck sharply with the flint several times—obliquely and downwards. The impact caused the steel to give off sparks—really minute globules of molten metal, at a temperature of several thousand degrees—and these, falling upon the tinder, soon set it

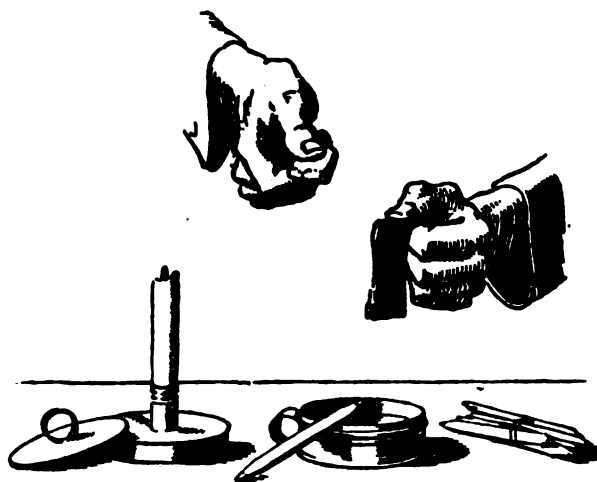


FIG. XXXIX.—The Tinder-box in use. Example (diam., 4 ins.) belonging to the Writer.

alight. The flint and steel were then laid aside and the box taken in the hand. Gentle blowing caused the smouldering tinder to glow more brightly, and to the glow thus created the point of a sulphur-match was applied quickly. Almost at once, the pale blue flickering flame of burning sulphur appeared, and this soon ignited the wood of the match. It was then easy to light the morning candle or hearth-fire. Finally, the damper was put back in the box to extinguish the still-smouldering tinder; the flint, steel, and matches were replaced; the lid of the box was put on; and the operation was complete. ¶ The process was not difficult for an expert in favourable circumstances; but

it was, at best, slow and tedious. Sometimes I have been fortunate enough to obtain a light in, say, half-a-minute; but, in the days of the tinder-box, it used to be reckoned that the average time needed was, from first to last, three minutes—a serious matter when a light was wanted in a hurry. One might strike a hundred modern matches, one by one, in less time! Indeed, while a householder was chipping his flint and steel (to say nothing of his knuckles), his daughter might elope with her lover or a burglar run off with the family silver. Anyone who had occasion to obtain fire only once daily, and required on an average three minutes for each operation, spent thus no less than eighteen hours and a quarter in the course of a year. ¶ Moreover, three minutes was nothing to the time required, even by an expert, in unfavourable circumstances. Then the operation often proved vexatious and troublesome to the last degree, occupying sometimes even twenty or thirty minutes. It should be remembered, in the first place, that it had to be performed usually in the dark. When the darkness was that of a keen winter's morning, and the operator's hands were numbed with cold, it is little wonder that, in attempting to strike his steel, he often "barked" his knuckles and lost his temper before obtaining a light. It is certainly true that one cannot get blood out of a stone; but, in the old tinder-box days, many a man found to his cost that a stone could very easily get blood out of him! Sometimes, says one writer, more gore than sparks fell upon the tinder, rendering it useless. In a wind, too, the operation could be performed only with great difficulty, for the flame on the match would be blown out as soon as kindled. Moreover, tinder was naturally very ready to absorb moisture; and, when it was allowed to become damp, the difficulty of obtaining a light in the morning was immense. Probably nothing that ever existed in the world has led to more loss of temper and profanity than damp tinder! ¶ To avoid this trouble the tinder-box

was kept usually in a specially dry place. Frequently it was kept in a small niche, made on purpose, in the brickwork at the back of the large open hearth-place, close to the hand of anyone sitting within the chimney-corner. One such niche—the only one I have ever seen—still exists in the back of the hearth-place at Waterloo Farm, in the parish of White Roothing, in Essex. It still contains a tinder-box, flint, and steel, and is here shown (Fig. XL) from a photograph. Often the tinder-box was placed in the evening on the hearth, close to the fire, and at bedtime was carried upstairs, warm and dry, and was placed beneath the pillow to keep it dry. Dr. Laver writes me:—"I remember well that my nurse used to persuade me to take the tinder-box into bed with me, telling me that I was 'such a nice warm little boy.' This she did, of course, to ensure that she should have the least possible trouble in obtaining a light in the morning. I remember, too, that I had, sometimes, horrible dreams of dreadful injury to my back, which I found, on awakening, had been caused by my having slept on the hard sharp edges of the tinder-box." ¶ The various difficulties to be overcome can be appreciated fully only by those old enough to remember that once most familiar early-morning sound—the *clink, clink, clink* of the kitchen-maid's flint and steel, as she knelt in the faint light of dawn before the hearth—fit attitude in which to create the sacred fire! A night-light was kept burning in many houses in order to avoid such difficulties. Now, thank heaven, they arise no longer!



FIG. XL.—Tinder-box niche in back of a hearth-place in Essex.

[The first article was published in No. 1, March 1903.]



SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY GERARD OF SAINT JOHN OF HAARLEM; IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE BRUGES EXHIBITION OF 1902

✿ WRITTEN BY W. H. JAMES WEALE ✿

ARTICLE III



AMONG the rarer masters represented in the exhibition were Gerard of Saint John of Haarlem and Hugh Van der Goes of Ghent. A brilliant and delicately-painted picture by the former (34), lent by Mr. Percy Macquoid, represents Saint John the Baptist in a tunic of camel-skin and an ample violet cloak, seated on the grass-grown, rocky foreground of a lovely landscape. Absorbed in meditation, his head rests on his right arm; at his side the Holy Lamb is couched on the grass. All around are flowering plants and ferns, amidst which, and beneath the trees beyond, are rabbits, deer, and a variety of birds: a most reposeful scene. In the far-off distance are seen the towers of a town. This picture, the only known example of the master's work not in a public collection, was formerly in the collection of Mr. C. W. Cope, and was sold at Christie's, as by Joachim Patenir, on June 22, 1894, when Mr. Macquoid bought it for the ridiculous sum of £3 10s.¹ It was acquired, whilst at Bruges, by the directors of the Berlin Museum, whose untiring activity and constant watchfulness over the interests of that institution are in striking contrast to the negligence of the authorities of our National Gallery, who either have not the requisite knowledge or do not take the trouble to watch the opportunities of adding desirable works offered for purchase even in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gallery. Had they been on the alert, the National Gallery might have acquired in 1894 for

¹ This picture was exhibited at Burlington House in 1873 (No. 185) and again in 1896 (No. 139) as Saint John in Patmos, under which absurd designation it appeared in the sale catalogue of Mr. C. W. Cope's collection in 1894.

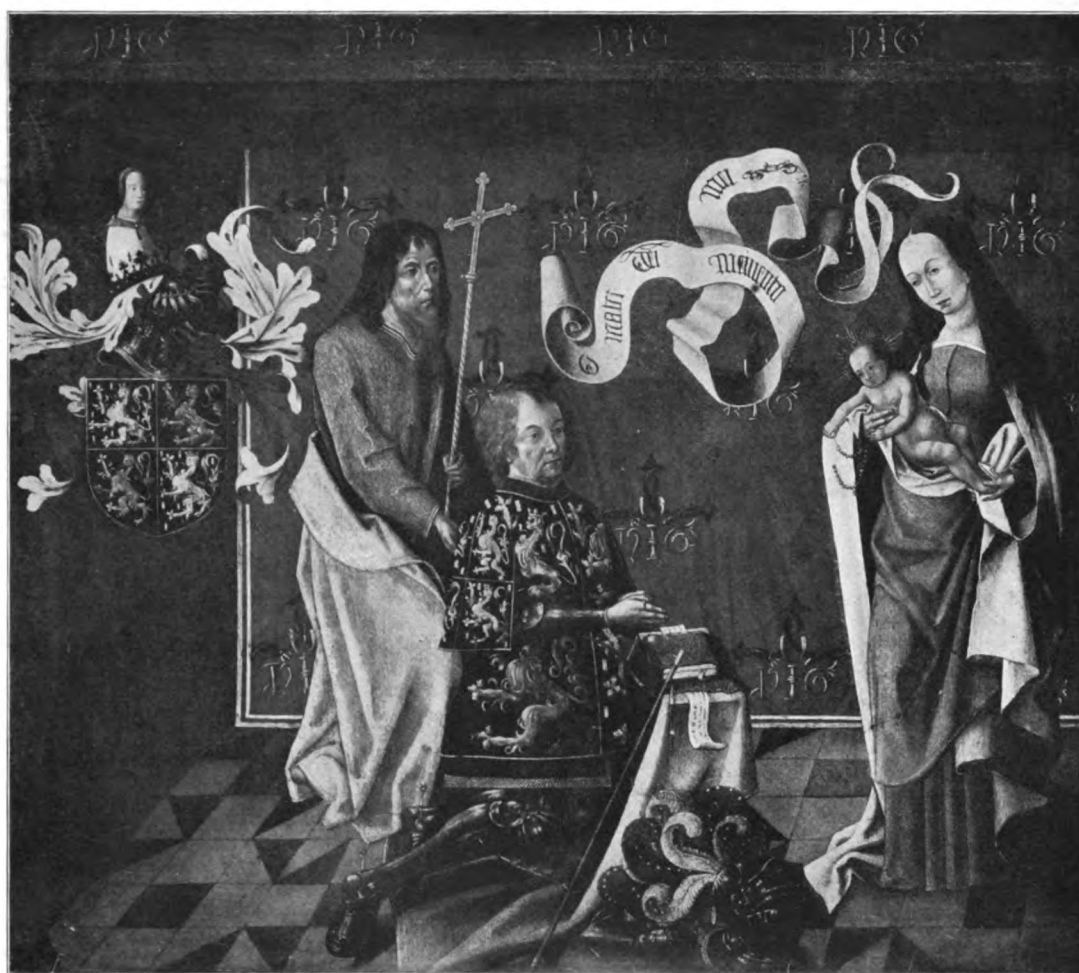
£3 10s. a picture for which the Berlin Museum thought it worth while in 1902 to pay £1,000. The Death of the Blessed Virgin (51), formerly in the abbey of our Lady of the Dunes, is one of Van der Goes' later works. It has at first sight the appearance of a distemper painting; this is due to the treatment it underwent at the hands of a certain Mr. Callewaert, who, in 1865, scrubbed off the glazes, prior to which operation it was remarkable for the beauty and harmoniousness of its colour. It is a fine composition, characterized by the marked individuality and masterly drawing of the figures, which are full of life. It is difficult to admit that Prince Liechtenstein's brilliant little triptych (52) of the Adoration of the Magi, with the kneeling donor, a canon protected by Saint Stephen, is by the same hand. A little panel by an unknown master (171), lent by Baron Bethune, is remarkable for its poetical tender feeling. It apparently represents a saint leaving his monastery and retiring to a solitude among the rocks; in his hand he bears a nosegay; along his path is spread a carpet, making the way easy. I cannot discover any ground for supposing that the saint in this picture is Saint Bruno; moreover, his habit is not that worn by the Carthusians. Can it be meant for Saint Bernard? ¶ The dexter shutter of a triptych, lent by Mr. Morrell (101), is a fine work by an artist of South Brabant or Hainault. It represents an aged canon, kneeling at a prayer desk, protected by Saint Jerome. The canon, in a violet cassock trimmed with sable and a plaited lawn surplice, has an almuce of grey fur on his right arm. In the window behind him are his arms: *azure*, a fess between three cinquefoils *or* 2 and 1; a scroll with his motto

Placet and the initials P. B. interlaced, probably for *Placet Busleyden*. The person represented is supposed to be Jerome Busleyden, founder of the College of the Three Languages at the University of Louvain. Through an opening on the left is seen a landscape with a hermitage in the foreground and the saint's lion in a meadow hard by; beyond it a moated manor house with swans, and figures on foot and on horseback on a road winding round a lofty mountain. A panel with a half-length figure of Saint James the Great (90) presents points of resemblance to this picture, but is probably some fifteen or twenty years later. ¶ A pair of panels (31), lent by Mr. Martin Colnaghi, are the work of a Brabanter, and date from about 1460. One panel, occupied by a representation of Calvary, shows, though but slightly, the influence of Roger De la Pasture; the other, a quite original composition, is of a highly decorative character. It commemorates Sir Philip Hinckaert, castellan of Tervueren, near Brussels, who died January 9, 1460. Clad in a suit of plate armour and a tabard embroidered with his arms, he adores the Infant Jesus in the arms of his mother, and invokes her intercession with the prayer "O Mater Dei, memento mei," words inscribed on a scroll which floats above his head. Behind him stands his patron, the apostle Saint Philip. The background is formed by a canopied cloth of honour powdered with the initials P. G., between which is the knight's badge: a leg-cradle with its strap and buckle. On the extreme left is an escutcheon charged with the knight's arms, and against the prayer-desk at which he kneels is an ivory-tipped castellan's staff. ¶ It is now time to turn our attention to those masters whose names are inseparably connected with Bruges. Never before has such an opportunity been afforded for the intercomparison of paintings attributed to the most renowned of these, Hans Memlinc, with the six works belonging to the Hospital of Saint John and the altar-piece of the Moreel chantry

from the museum of the town, works of which the authenticity is indisputable and the date of completion known. These seven works remain at Bruges, and as I have, in the booklet published by me in 1901, given a full description of them, with all the information as to their donors contained in the archives of that town, I shall confine my remarks in the present article to the other pictures exhibited, following as far as possible the chronological order. The earliest pictures shown were the portrait of Nicholas di Forzore Spinelli (55), lent by the Antwerp Museum, and the triptych of the Donne family, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. Spinelli was in Flanders, in the service of Charles the Bold as seal engraver in 1467 and 1468, doubtless in Bruges, in which town members of the family were residing. He was born in 1430, so that he was about thirty-eight years of age when this portrait was executed. The coin which he holds in his left hand bears the profile head of the Emperor Nero, with the inscription: NERO CLAVDIUS CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE IMPERATOR. The background is a charming, sunny, well-wooded landscape traversed by a stream; on the near bank is a palm tree; this and the coin were doubtless introduced at the request of Spinelli as indications of his nationality and profession. On the stream are two swans, and near a wood a man in red on a white horse, cleverly used as contrasts of colour, a detail frequently imitated by contemporary and later painters. The triptych painted for the Donne family is a fine work. In a spacious portico we see the Blessed Virgin and Child enthroned between two angels, with Saint Katherine, Saint John Baptist, and Saint John the Evangelist, and, in the foreground, the donors kneeling, Sir John Donne of Kidwelly, county Caermarthen, controller of the Customs of Bristol, and his wife, Elisabeth, daughter of Sir Leonard Hastings of Kerkby, and sister of William, first Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain of Edward IV. It



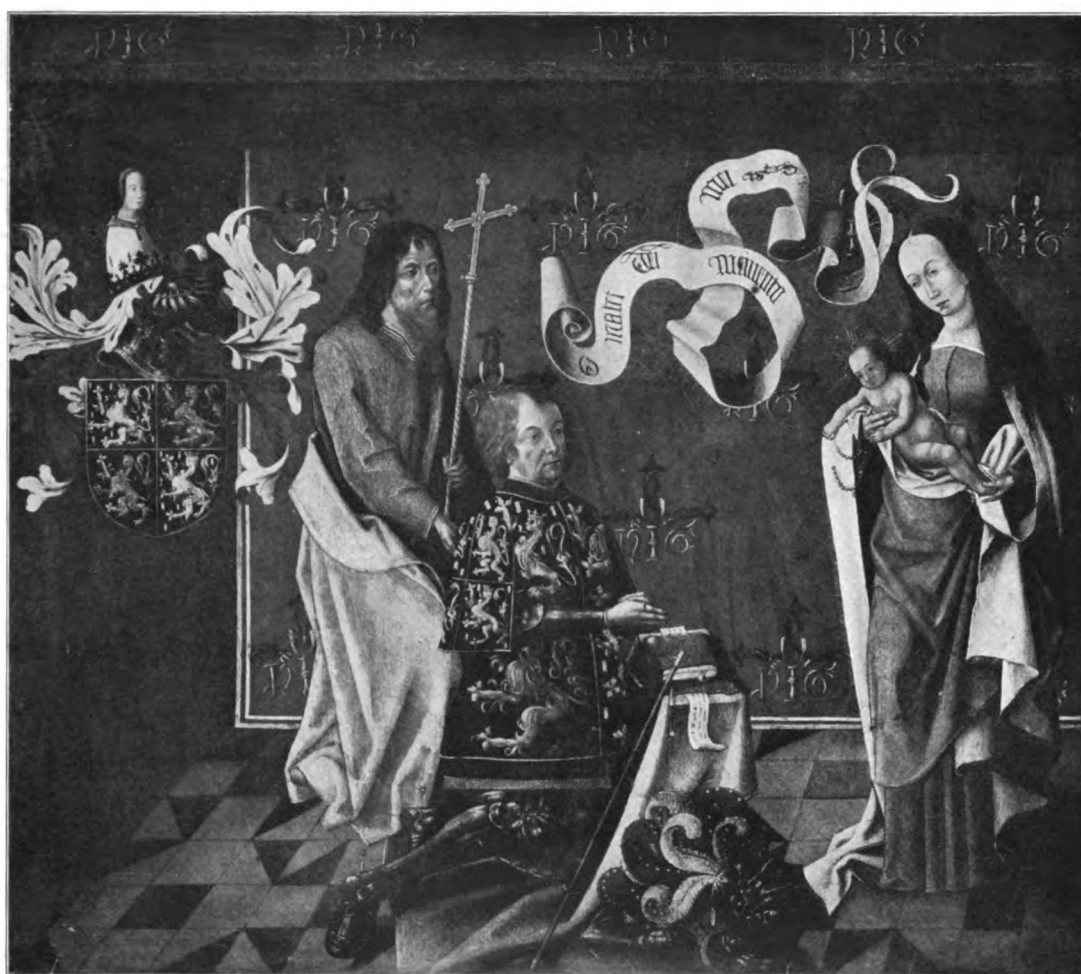
DEXTER PANEL OF A DIPTYCH; THE DONOR (PROBABLY JEROME BUSLEYDEN) PROTECTED BY ST. JEROME; BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER, IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. F. P. MORRELL



SINISTER PANEL OF A DIPTYCH; PAINTER UNKNOWN; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. MARTIN COLNAGHI



A SAINT RETIRING TO A SOLITUDE IN THE ROCKS; BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER; IN THE COLLECTION OF BARON BETHUNE



SINISTER PANEL OF A DIPTYCH; PAINTER UNKNOWN; IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. MARTIN COLNAGHI



A SAINT RETIRING TO A SOLITUDE IN THE ROCKS; BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER; IN THE COLLECTION OF BARON BETHUNE

will be noticed that the saints protecting these persons are not their name saints, but the armorial escutcheons adorning the capitals of the columns remove all doubt as to their identity. The approximate date of the painting is also established beyond dispute, as both Sir John and his wife are represented wearing the badge of the white lion of the house of Marche appended to the collar of roses and suns, adopted by Edward IV in 1461. As Sir John was slain at the battle of Edgecote, July 26, 1469, the triptych must have been painted within that period, probably in 1468, when both he and his wife went to Bruges to assist at the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.¹ It is, however, possible that Memlinc accompanied the mission sent by Charles to London in 1466 to treat for Margaret's hand, and that Sir John then gave him the commission, but had the picture been painted then, Sir John's two sons, Edward and Griffith, would doubtless have been represented kneeling behind their father. The landscape background is one of the loveliest executed by Memlinc. It is interesting to note that the types of the figures of our Lady, of the angels and saints, with the exception of the Evangelist, recur in many of his later works, and were constantly imitated by contemporary and later painters. It is greatly to be regretted that the loan of two of the most remarkable works of the master, executed shortly after the Donne triptych, could not be obtained, both being in public galleries: the Passion picture painted for the miniaturist William Vrelant and given by him in 1478 to the guild of Booksellers, in the Turin Gallery;² and the exquisite altar-piece presented to the Tanners of Bruges by Peter Bultinc in 1480,

¹ "Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche," Louvain, 1643, p. 523.

² Several writers have asserted that the kneeling figures in this picture are portraits of Thomas Portinari and his wife, and that the panel was in the possession of the Medici in the sixteenth century. This is quite a mistake, as the Turin picture remained in the chapel of the Booksellers' Guild until the guild sold it in 1624. It was still at Bruges in 1637, when a copy of it was made for a member of the Van Crombrugge family, by a descendant of whom it was lent to the Bruges Exhibition of 1867 (No. 17 bis). This copy was in the Otlet collection, sold at Brussels December 19, 1902, when it fetched 3,200 frs. It was subsequently offered for sale at Christie's on January 24, but was, I believe, bought in.

in the Munich Museum; both were sold by the unworthy successors of the recipients. ¶ A charming picture (63), lent by Mr. L. Goldschmidt, of Paris, is another of the too many fine works of the school lost to this country during the last few years. Purchased on the Continent by Sir Joshua Reynolds, it remained in the possession of the Davenport family until 1884, when it was exhibited at Burlington House; in 1890 it was again seen at the New Gallery. The composition, seven figures in all, closely resembles that in the centre of the large altar-piece in Saint John's Hospital. The scene, however, is here laid in a garden enclosed by a low wall, the throne of our Lady being placed beneath a vine-covered arch of trellis-work. The pose of several of the figures is slightly different; the angels, too, have wings, as in the Donne triptych, and the one on the left of the throne, vested in alb and dalmatic, is playing the harp, and behind Saint Katherine a donor is portrayed kneeling and telling his beads. ¶ A half-length figure of the Blessed Virgin (72) offering an apple to the Divine Child, whom she supports with her right arm, is apparently a fragment of a painting executed about 1480. The background is formed by a cloth of honour suspended between two columns with sculptured capitals representing the Presentation in the Temple and the Adoration of the Magi. ¶ The earliest of a remarkable series of portraits of unknown persons is that of an old lady (71), which we reproduce. This fine portrait, lent by Mr. L. Nardus, of Paris, was formerly in the Meazza collection at Milan with that of her husband, now in the Berlin Gallery. ¶ The Mauritshuis at the Hague lent the sinister panel of a diptych (73) representing a beardless young man, with a profusion of curly hair, praying with his hands joined. In the distance of the landscape background are seen the towers of a town. This finely-modelled portrait was purchased for the Museum at Christie's in 1894 for a sum far

below its value. On the reverse is an armorial escutcheon with helmet and crest, but these are painted over an earlier coat-of-arms. ¶ A panel belonging to Baron Oppenheim (70) bears the portrait of a young man with bushy eyebrows, large nose, and thick lips, evidently a member of a guild of archers who had won the prize at a shooting match, as he holds a golden arrow with evident pride. Quite a contrast to this was offered by Mr. Salting's portrait (77) of a good-looking young married man in a light crimson tight-fitting dress and a brown tunic laced across his breast, kneeling with joined hands at a bench, on which lies his Book of Hours; the centre and sinister shutter of this triptych are lost. From the Brussels Museum came the shutters (64, 65) of another triptych, with the portraits of William Moreel and his wife, painted a few years earlier than the altar-piece of their chantry, now in the Town Museum, with which it was interesting to compare them; the portrait of the lady has suffered from so-called restoration. ¶ A pair of panels (74, 75) belonging to the Evangelical Gymnasium of Herrmannstadt in Transylvania have fared far worse. Evidently the shutters of a triptych, on which the donors were represented protected by their patron saints, these last and the background have been almost entirely overpainted, leaving only the donor and his son on one shutter, and the wife and a dog on the other. The donor appears to be the person portrayed

in the picture of the Deposition lent by Prince Doria (91), a composition somewhat similar to the central panel of the triptych painted for Brother Adrian Reyns of Saint John's Hospital in 1480, but of later date. ¶ The authenticity of the portraits of Thomas Portinari and his wife (57, 58), lent by Mr. L. Goldschmidt, is contested by some critics. Judging by appearance they must have been painted a few years earlier than the triptych by Hugh Van der Goes in the Offices at Florence, and they are certainly weaker than any other portrait painted by Memlinc about that time. May they not be early productions of Hugh's? The beautiful necklace worn by the lady in both pictures, doubtless a wedding present, deserves attention. It is an exquisite specimen of Florentine goldsmiths' work of the period. ¶ Two interesting fragments appear to have formed part of authentic pictures; the one, lent by Mr. Clemens of Munich (80), representing the new-born Saviour adored by his mother and Saint Joseph, is an early bit; the other (76), formerly belonging to Sir W. Graham, lent by Mr. R. Brocklebank, was shown as a work of Quentin Metsys at the New Gallery in 1900, and first recognized as a Memlinc by M. Friedländer. It represents seven Jews and three soldiers calling for the crucifixion of Christ: unfortunately this fragment has been entirely repainted with the exception of the three figures at the extreme left.

[The numbers in brackets after the titles of pictures are those of the official catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition. The first article of this series appeared in No. 1, March 1903, and the second in No. 2, April 1903.]



PORTRAIT OF NICHOLAS DI FORZORE SPINELLI, BY HANS MEMLINC; IN THE ANTWERP MUSEUM



PORTRAIT BY HANS MEMLINC; IN THE MAURITSHUIS AT THE HAGUE



PORTRAIT BY HANS MEMLINC; IN THE COLLECTION OF MONSIEUR L. NARDUS

ON ORIENTAL CARPETS

ARTICLE II.—SYMBOLISM IN DESIGN

IT is beyond dispute that all oriental textile fabrics, and notably all oriental carpets, are permeated by an intricate and complicated and very wide-reaching symbolism. This probably originated with, and emanated from, the earliest Babylonian civilization, whence in process of time it spread, following the course of the river, which was naturally the trade route, to India. The carpet itself has its symbolical value, as has been pointed out by Sir George Birdwood, who is undoubtedly one of the greatest authorities on Indian carpets. In his view, which is widely supported, the carpet symbolizes space and eternity, and the general pattern, or "filling" as it is technically termed, the finite world of animated beauty. The symbols employed in this "filling" are necessarily varied and limited by the race and religion of the weaver. Thus, Mahomed having forbidden to his followers any representation of human or animal life, the designs employed by Moslem weavers have been necessarily restricted to the vegetable kingdom. This prohibition, however, has left them a wide field, for they have drawn subjects for design from every tree and plant known to them. Thus we find in the carpets produced by the stricter Moslem races the lotus, the Tree of Life, peony, orchid, carnations, poppies, hollyhock, tulips, roses, pitcher plants, anemone, campanula both white and blue, pomegranate, ranunculus, scilla, blue geranium, tamarisks, fritillaria imperialis, asafoetida, narcissus, crocus, and violet; and not content with depicting the appearance of these plants in bloom, they have also made use of the sections of different parts, such as the seed vessels, the roots, and portions of the plant when dissected or crushed. In most cases, with the exception always of the Tree of Life, the flowers de-

picted adhere strictly to their colour symbolism, the colours employed being always the perfect seven. Throughout the fabrics of Persia and India, floral patterns are found to prevail in a nearly natural state, having regard always to the gradually increased influence of the rectilinear over the flowing line. This influence extended down to the period of the conquest of the Persianized Pathans, a name applied, according to some authorities, in a loose manner to all tribes on the common frontiers of India, Afghanistan, Persia, and Balk, and now found in all parts of British India. ¶The doubt surrounding the source of the name Pathan is interesting; by some it is said to be a titular designation given by Mahomed to an Afghan of Kais or Kish who visited him at Medina. Others again claim it to be a corruption of the Arabic word *Fathan*, or conqueror, or a derivation of the Sanskrit *Paithna*, to penetrate into hostile camps. In any case it is an honourable designation, and wherever Pathan dynasties ruled in India they have left traces of an advanced civilization, notably at Delhi, Agra, Mandu, and Burhampur, where the magnificent remains of palaces and mosques and their scientifically constructed fortifications attest their skill and high artistic intellectuality both in colour and design. ¶It was under this influence (Pathan) that the flowing floral patterns regained their place in design, becoming gradually universal in India. In this connexion it may be pointed out that the irregularities, both in colour and design, found in almost every specimen of oriental carpet are not due to carelessness or lack of skill on the part of the artist worker, but are introduced deliberately with a hidden meaning. In Turkoman and other nomad carpets the intention is to avert the evil eye and propitiate good fortune. ¶Salient in nearly every form of oriental carpet is the Tree of Life. In one

form or another this symbol is to be found in every class of oriental ornamentation. It is extremely interesting to trace the history of the Tree of Life (and the Tree of Healing) through its various stages, and to find its head in the knop and flower or cone and flower pattern as we recognize it on Assyrian marbles, Egyptian wall-paintings, Indian monuments, Cashmere shawls, Italian brocades ; in Greek honeysuckle and palmetta scroll, Renaissance shell, and the tongue-and-dart and tongue-and-egg patterns in classical mouldings. According to Sir George Birdwood, the Tree of Life and the knop and flower of the Aryan races have a similar history. At first, undoubtedly, they were simply ornament ; then at a very early period, when the intoxicating virtue of the Soma plant, inspiring men as it was thought with the knowledge of the gods, was first discovered, a religious significance was attached to them, which, although it has been completely lost sight of in the West, if indeed it was ever understood there, is still recognized in the East, more particularly in Persia. In Yarkand carpets, says Sir George Birdwood, the tree is seen filling the whole centre of the carpet, stark and stiff, as if cut out in metal. In Persian art, and in Indian art derived from Persian, it becomes a beautiful flowering plant or a simple sprig of flowers. In purely Hindu art it remains in its conventional form, as seen in temple lamps and in models, in brass and copper, of the sacred fig as the Tree of Life. But wherever present it always has its twelve branches or fronds, alluded to in Chapter xxii of the Revelation, which says, " the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month : and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." ¶ In symbolism every figure, whether mythological, natural, human, or bestial, has, as in the case of floral representations, its specific value. It must, of course, always be borne in mind that in floral decoration the significance of colour is supreme, and, with few exceptions, this

significance is identical among all the peoples with whom we are now concerned. Thus white is a symbol of mourning to the Muslims of Persia and India, as it also is to the Hindus, Parsees, and Chinese. The religious mendicants, both Buddhist and Hindu, clothe themselves with a dull tint of orange, as being emblematical of pious resignation and devotion to the cause of religion. To the Muslim green is, of course, the sacred colour, it having been that held by Mahomed as holy (which was, it may be remarked, a purely arbitrary decision). Red, again, in varying shades, is the colour that symbolizes joy and happiness, and is always employed both in costume and in decoration at a great festivity, and notably in marriage and in circumcision ceremonials. Blue, on the other hand, makes for discussion, for whereas to the Hindu it is the symbol of ill-luck, yet it is the imperial colour of the Mongols, and the imperial colour of China is celestial blue. In the life of the Orient immediate environment has ever held an important place in the productions of art workers. Victory, triumph, and prosperity of his township or state have caused the carpet weaver of old time to invest the creations of his loom with the richest and most auspicious colours and with the figures that symbolize the events that cause his satisfaction (it will be understood that in this connexion I refer always to those works which are not copies, but are of original design, though it is probable that, in so far as colouring is concerned, the environment of the moment would affect a reproduction). For instance in, say, Persian carpets, the lion is the symbol of power, dominion, victory, or rule, because it is also the symbol of the sun, the day, summer, and glory. The eagle quiescent has the same meaning, but the eagle flying upwards is symbolic of good fortune, and if descending, *i.e.* with closed pinions, it implies bad luck. The unicorn and the antelope are symbolic of the moon and peaceful night, and are used also to welcome the advent of a good prince.

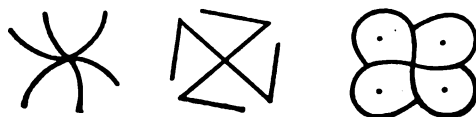
Hounds and leopards for hunting imply fame and increasing honours. The forms of the phoenix signify prismatic day, life, etc., while the dragon is the dark and stormy night, death, destruction, and havoc. It will be seen that inseparably interwoven with this symbolism of design is that of colour, and in weaving on his loom his fragmentary contribution to contemporary history the original designer employed both mediums. Local exaltation or depression would thus find its place in the record. A blue lion in an Indian carpet would mean that victory had remained uncertain, while in conjunction with a descending eagle it might imply defeat ; on the other hand, the lion in vivid red combined with an unicorn would probably signify the victory of a desired and popular prince. In illustration of the influence of local material and spiritual environments on the mind of the oriental artist it may be pointed out that both Mr. Vincent Robinson and Sir George Birdwood have deeply deplored the pernicious system adopted long since by the Indian Government of turning the gaols of the country into carpet factories. To be sure it is only the commoner and coarser forms of carpet that are thus produced by convict labour ; but, inasmuch as the designs employed are those of old and valuable fabrics, the detrimental tendency of the use of coarse materials, indifferent dyes, and European string backings, coupled with the general inappreciative looseness of forced labour, cannot be too loudly condemned in view of its certain evil influence on the workers of a future age. ¶ In treating of symbolism it is obvious that the attention must be largely held by



Svastika.

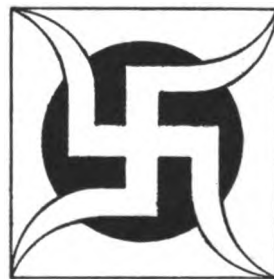
that which is universally admitted to be the oldest symbol known to mankind. This is, of course, the Svastika, or, as some authorities call it, the fylfot, gammadion, or crux gammata. The Svastika, in one form or

another, is traceable in every example of decorative art of whatsoever period, country, or origin. According to Dr. Wilson, of the Smithsonian Institute, it belongs to prehistoric times, and its first appearance among men is lost in antiquity. We may theorize as to its origin, but there is no historical identification of it either in epoch or by



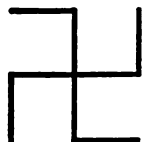
Varied Forms of Svastika.

country or among people. The sign is itself so simple that it might have originated among any people however primitive, and in any age however remote. Although the controversy that has ever raged and probably will continue to rage around this mystic symbol Svastika is not at all likely to be brought to a result in a definite conclusion, there is very little dispute as to the original derivation of the term itself. Professor Whitney, Professor Max Müller, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Zmigrodski, and other authorities of repute appear to be agreed on this point. Thus Professor Whitney says : "Svastika—[Sanskrit lit. 'good fortune'] Svasti (*su* = well + *asti*, being), welfare" ; while Professor Max Müller, in *Stios*, remarks : "Ethnologically Svastika is derived from Svasti, and Svasti from *su* = well, and *as* = to be." M. Eugène Burnouf, in "Des Sciences et Religions," calls it "a monogrammatic sign of four branches, at which the ends are curved at right angles, and of which the name signifies literally the sign of benediction or good augury." George Waring, again, in "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," says that the Fylfot is Scandinavian, and is a compound of the old Norse *fjöl* and the Anglo-Saxon *fela*, the German *viel* = many and *fotr* = foot, the many-footed.



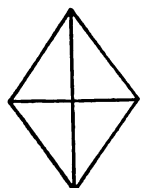
Jain Svastika. 3rd stage. Ends turned out typifying animal, human, and celestial life.

Mr. Waring also emphatically denies the existence of a Buddhist sect having the name Svastika, although, on the other hand, Colonel Cunningham asserts that Svastika was the symbol used by a sect of that name, the founder of which, according to him, flourished circa 604 to 523 B.C., and he holds also that the mystic cross is a symbol formed



Form of Svastika
in use by Bud-
dhists and Jains.

by the combination of the Sanskrit syllables, "So Anti Suti." Mr. Waring demolishes this statement, which he describes as pure invention, and is upheld by Mr. V. R. Gandhi, a legal gentleman of Bombay and a Buddhist of the Jain sect, who says that the sign was and is used by the Jains as a form of benediction and blessing. Professor Zmigrodski, commenting on the frequency of the Svastika in the objects found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, gives it as his opinion that these representations of the Svastika have relation to a human cult indicating a supreme being filled with goodness towards man. The sun, stars, etc., indicate him as a god of light. This, in connexion with the idol of Venus, with its triangular shield engraved with the Svastika and the growing trees and palms with their increasing and multiplying branches and leaves, represents



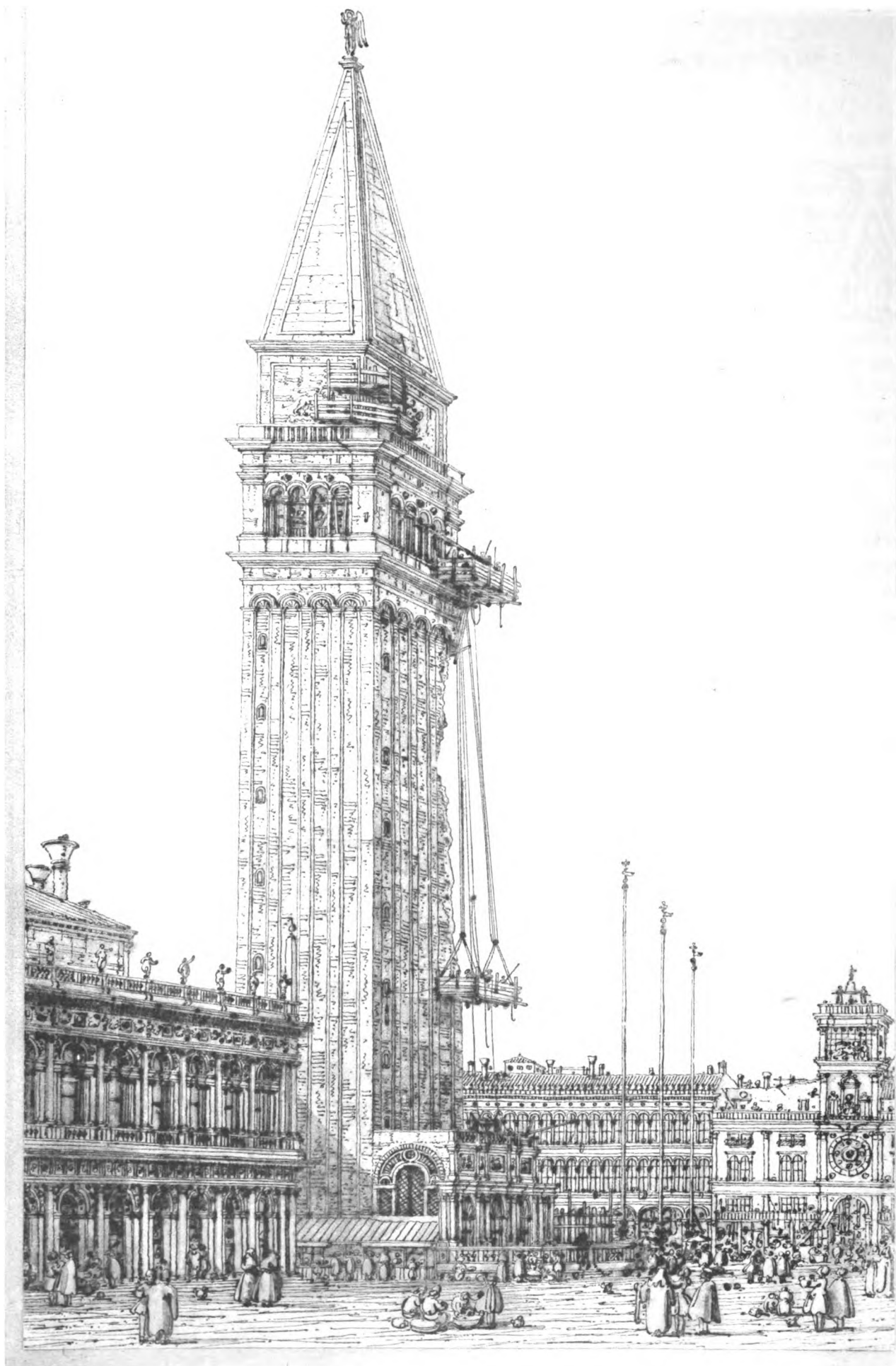
Another form
of Svastika.

to him the idea of fecundity, multiplication, and increase, and hence symbolizes the God of Life as well as of Light. The Svastika sign on funeral vases indicates to him a belief in the Divine Spirit in man which lives after death, and hence he concludes that the people of Hissarlik, in the "Burnt City" (the third of Schliemann), adored a supreme being, the God of Life and Light, and believed in the immortality of the soul. Mr. R. P. Greg, who has also devoted much study to this subject, says that originally Svastika would appear to have been an early Aryan atmospheric device or symbol indi-

cative of both rain and lightning, phenomena appertaining to the god Indra, which subsequently or collaterally developed, perhaps, into Svastika or sacred fire churn in India, and at a still later period in Greece was adopted rather as a solar symbol, which was converted about B.C. 650 into what we now know as the meander or key pattern.

¶ The Svastika has been found in nearly every country in Europe. In a letter written a few years ago by Professor Max Müller to Dr. Schliemann, and quoted in the latter's work, entitled "Shim, or the Cities of Troy," Max Müller says that the Svastika has been found on Bishop's Island, near Königswalde, on the right bank of the Oder, and on a vase discovered at Reichersdorf, near Greuben; that a whole row of this emblem surrounds the pulpit of St. Ambrose, at Milan, and in the Catacombs at Rome it occurs a thousand times; that it is seen also on wall painting at Pompeii; on a Celtic urn found at Shropham in Norfolk, and now in the British Museum; on ancient Athenian and Corinthian vases; on the coins of Leucas of Syracuse; and in the large mosaics in the Royal Gardens at Athens. It is found in Hungary and in China, amongst the Ashantis and in Yucatan. In the treasury of the Cathedral of Valencia, in Spain, are two splendid embroidered altar frontals said to have belonged to the old church of St. Paul's in London, and to have been sold into Spain by Henry VIII. On one of these, which depicts our Saviour going to His crucifixion, a soldier of the Roman Army or of one of their auxiliaries is holding a standard on which is embroidered a Svastika. ¶ The subject is infinitely complex, and inasmuch as the Svastika in one or other of its forms (some of which are given in the accompanying illustrations) is invariably to be found in the "filling" or border, or both, of every oriental carpet, it will be well to study it and endeavour to appreciate its significance. This will be done in the next article.

[The first article of this series was published in No. 1, March 1903.]

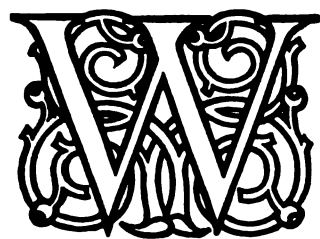


THE CAMPANILE OF ST. MARK'S WHILE UNDERGOING REPAIR IN 1745

FROM A DRAWING BY ANTONIO CANAL (CANALETTO) IN
THE POSSESSION OF MR. GEORGE SALTING

NOTES ON VARIOUS WORKS OF ART

THE CAMPANILE OF ST. MARK'S AT VENICE.



WHATEVER causes may have brought about the fall of the famous campanile of St. Mark's at Venice, it is clear, now that the examination of its ruins is complete, that its collapse was due to no weakness or defect of the foundations. But this, indeed, was evident at the first, from the manner in which the tower collapsed upon itself; whereas had the foundations been defective, it would probably have fallen to the one side or the other. Old age, no doubt, and through old age the gradual decay of the mortar with which the tower was built, were principal sources of weakness; but it is scarcely possible that these alone would have brought about its fall. By far the most effective source of damage is to be traced, as I suspect, to a series of mischances which from time to time have befallen the structure; accidents which for the most part have, in legal parlance, been occasioned "by the act of God." ¶ The tradition is that the foundations of the campanile were laid in the year 888, in the time of the Doge Pietro Tribuno; but that the tower itself was not begun until 1148, when Domenico Moresino was Doge. At a comparatively early period of its history the condition of its structure was such as to call for an extensive restoration—a state of things which could hardly have been necessitated by the ordinary process of time; for we read that in the year 1329 the campanile "was renewed at the hands of an architect called Il Montagnana." In 1400 it was fired by the "fuochi," that were displayed at night to celebrate the creation of Michele Steno as Doge; and in 1417 it was struck by lightning, and the upper part of the structure, which was of wood, burnt

down to the masonry. The portion then destroyed was afterwards rebuilt of stone, in the form in which it existed down to our own time. In 1490 the tower was again fired by lightning, and the restoration occasioned by this last catastrophe was finally brought to a conclusion in 1515, when the familiar wooden figure of the angel, covered with gilt copper, was placed on its summit. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, or more precisely in 1591, the buildings which up till that time had adjoined the campanile on the side of what is now the Palazzo Reale, were demolished, so as to leave the tower standing free in the Piazza. Of the subsequent vicissitudes which the building underwent, one mischance alone (though that was, perhaps, one of the gravest in its history) need here detain us. On April 23, 1745, the campanile was again struck by lightning. In the sketch-book of Antonio Canaletto at Windsor is a drawing in pen and ink (a reproduction of which accompanies this note) showing how the campanile appeared immediately after this occurrence. In the upper left-hand corner of the drawing Canaletto has written:—"Adi 23 Aprile, 1745, giorno di S. Giogio Cau-lier diedela Saeta nel Campanil di S. Marco." The view is taken from the Piazzetta, looking towards the Procuratie Vecchie and the Torre dell' Orologio. Sansovino's Library is seen in the foreground of the picture on the left, and the campanile with the Loggetta at its foot, and the three flag-poles fill the centre of the picture. It is executed with that scrupulous attention to architectural detail which characterizes all Canaletto's genuine works, and which lends an especial value to this. It shows how the whole angle of the tower proper, for nearly two-thirds of its entire height, was torn away by the lightning; and how the fall of the *débris* carried away with it part of the balustrade that crowned the Loggetta of Sansovino. So extensive a piece of damage as

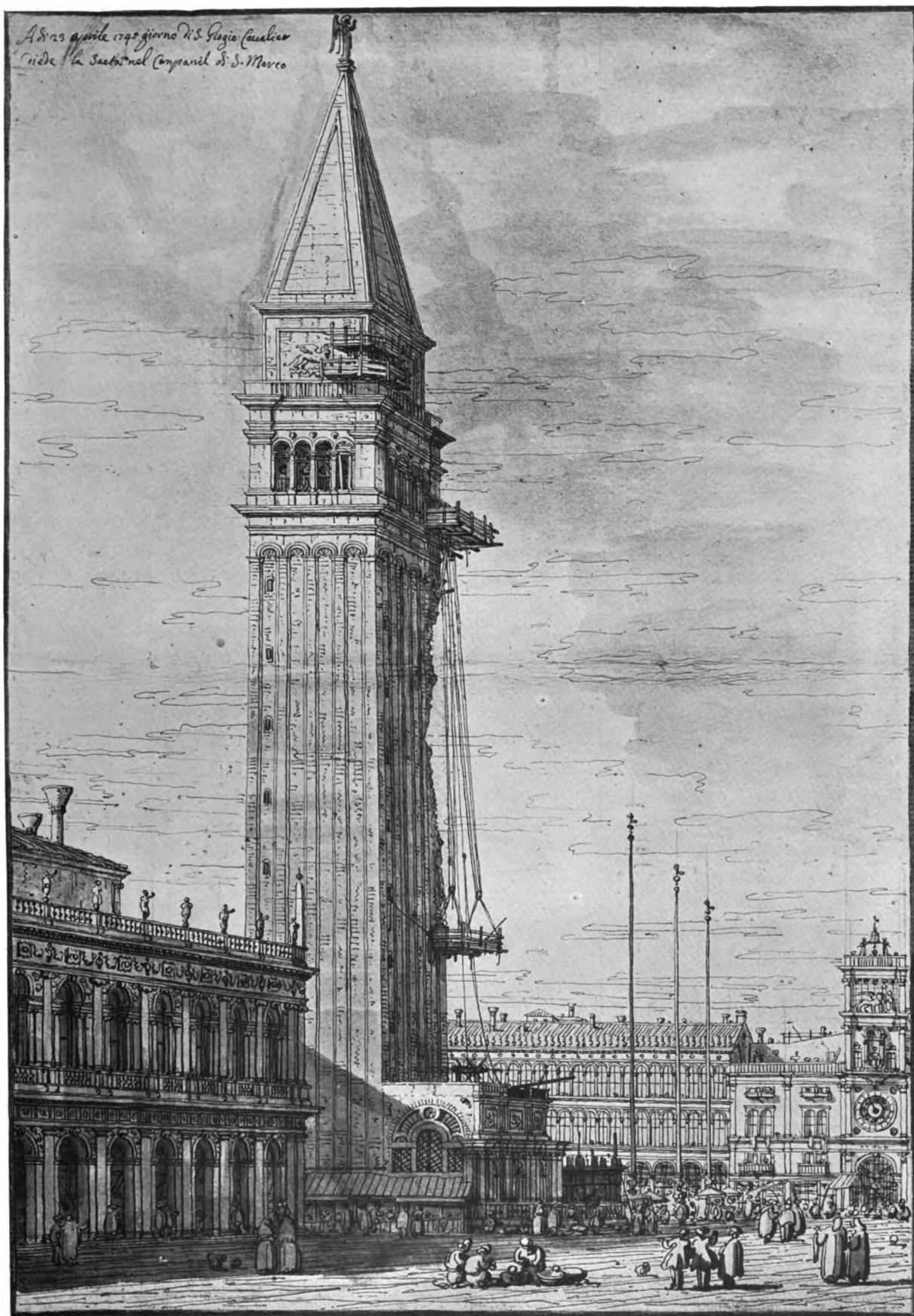
this must have contributed in no slight degree to the gradual failure of the building. But Canaletto's drawing is not merely a valuable document in the architectural history of the campanile, it conveys to us a more heightened sense of the architectural grandeur of the building—its severe formidable mass and its vast towering bulk—than few, if any, of the innumerable representations of it which have come down to us. ¶ The value of Canaletto's view of the campanile, regarded as a work of art, is even more clearly shown in the large pen-and-ink drawing which he elaborated from the original study at Windsor. This drawing is now in the collection of Mr. George Salting, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced. In spite of certain defects in the perspective, it is, perhaps, of all Canaletto's drawings, the noblest and the most splendid. The Venetian master here exhibits to the height that unrivalled sense for the architectural structure of a building which in his work always accompanies a sense of what is necessary to make a picture. Although in the reproduction the drawing has suffered, as was inevitable, in being reduced, it must nevertheless be obvious to all that it is a memorial worthy of the building it records, beyond which praise cannot go.

H.

A JAPANESE POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGRAVING

THE National Art Library contains a Japanese colour-print, of no particular artistic merit, but having a good deal of interest inasmuch as it is inscribed with a brief account of the history of engraving. The title of the print is *Adzuma Nishikiye Yurei* (History of Japanese Colour-prints). It was drawn and

is signed by Haksanjin Hoku-i, a pupil of Hokusai, who lived in the middle of the nineteenth century; and was published by Bunseidō Kobayashi, whose mark it bears. The design consists simply of three figures seated round a dwarf pine-tree (such as have lately been sold in London to some extent), on which is seen a hairy-tailed tortoise and a crane: all symbols of long life and prosperity. These figures are portraits; one of an artist, probably Hoku-i himself, with paint-brushes and a badge made out of the character *ye*, which means "picture," and wearing a ceremonial cap; then an engraver with mallet and badge of eight chisels placed like the spokes of a wheel; and lastly a printer, whose badge is three printing brushes similarly disposed. These two latter have caps of lower degree than that worn by the artist. A note to the title explains that the text refers also to *Ishizuri*, prints from engraved stone; *Hankō*, woodcuts; *Surimono*, specially printed designs for New Year's cards, etc. Freely translated, the gist of the text is as follows, the versions of Indian and Chinese names being, of course, Japanese: ¶ "The inventor of engraving was Goshi Sonja, an early disciple of Sakya Muni, who dwelt on the mountain Reijiūsen in India. He engraved texts on copper plates, but without reversing the lettering. From these, impressions in reverse were obtained with black grease, which were sent to China. The Chinese copied them on stone, and so began stone-printing. In China, about the period Kwan-shiu (100 B.C.) Byōdō printed texts from wood, which was the beginning of wood-cuts. Shirō, a follower of Kōshi (Confucius), made a poem of about fifty characters cut on one piece of wood, which was hung upon the wall of his study. *Nishikiye* began in the time of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (a great patron of the arts, died 1490), who ordered a Tosa artist to make a painting of the Hundred Devils walking in the Evening. Ōguri Sōtan was master of Ukiyo Matahei, who lived at Ōtsu, and painted many *Tobaye* with colour; and this was the



THE CAMPANILE OF ST. MARK'S AT VENICE, AS IT APPEARED AFTER IT WAS STRUCK BY LIGHTNING ON APRIL 23, 1745 ;
FROM THE DRAWING IN THE SKETCH-BOOK OF ANTONIO CANAL AT WINDSOR

1





MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

From the painting by ANTONIO (?) SOLARIO
in the possession of
Mr. Asher Wertheimer

beginning of *Ukiyo Nishikiye*. In the period of Genwa (A.D. 1616-1623) Katsushika Hōkyūshi, a comic poet who lived at Musashi, ordered Chikamatsu Ryūsai to engrave on cherry-wood a picture of a pine-branch, and this was the beginning of *Surimono*. In the period Manji (A.D. 1658-1660) another man from the same district, Takekawa Nuinosuke, observing how impressions were rubbed off leaves (*Shinobuzari*), obtained the idea of making colour-prints." ¶ Of course, the importance of this document must not be exaggerated. Its author was merely an artisan; and, though he lived long enough to have come into touch with the beginnings of modern Japan, his story must not be given the same credit as would be awarded to that of a more educated man. As it stands, it contains several errors. The reference to Yoshimasa is unaccountable, and that to Matahei is wrong in fact, as has recently been shown by Mr. Arthur Morrison. But he undoubtedly sets forth the current Japanese tradition as to the first beginnings of engraving; and the suggestion, in this by no means negligible form, that the Chinese owed their arts of printing and engraving to Buddhist missionaries from India, is absolutely new to us, and worthy of further examination, especially in view of the admittedly high excellence of the art of sculpture even in the time of the Buddhist king Asoka. It is to be noted, moreover, that we already have a record that in the second century B.C., an embassy, perhaps sent by Huvishka, took Buddhist books to the Emperor of China, A-ili; and that a successor, the Buddhist king Kanishka (about 10 A.D.), is said to have had three commentaries engraved on plates of copper and sealed up in a stone box, over which he built a Dāgaba (Rhys Davids). ¶ I owe the translation to Mr. Rōnin Kohitsu, of the Imperial Museum of Tōkyō; and hope, with his assistance, to pursue the question further on his return to Japan.

EDWARD F. STRANGE.

A PICTURE BY SOLARIO



HE Madonna and Child, belonging to Mr. Asher Wertheimer, which, by his kind permission, we have been able to reproduce in colours, is a singularly beautiful picture.

Our reproduction, though it suffers from the inevitable surface quality which as yet despoils such translations, however literal, of much æsthetic charm, should, we think, be of real value to students owing to its surprising accuracy. It has, in the mellow glow of the flesh colour and the sweet blues of the landscape, which pass by insensible gradation into yellowish white, all the characteristics of the Venetian school of the last decade of the quattrocento. But it will be noted that a certain dry, bitter note in the red of the robe and the sharpness of its opposition to the blue recall an artist who was not of Venetian birth, but who studied in Venice in his youth and acquired there his knowledge of technique. This particular red will at once suggest the work of Andrea Solario. It is true that the harmony of the whole is sweeter, mellow, more purely Venetian than in any other work by that artist which I have come across, the nearest approach to it being the rather gaudy picture in the Brera representing the Madonna and Child between SS. Joseph and Jerome. The head of the Madonna in that picture approximates very closely to this, though again there is the difference that this is more purely Venetian. In the case of the Brera picture Morelli found the Madonna's head Leonardesque, while Mr. Berenson describes it as based on the study of Alvise Vivarini; the two opinions indicate its mixed Lombard and Venetian character. But the head in our picture is without trace, to my eyes at least, of Leonardo's influence; it is purely Venetian and purely Alviesque. The St. John again is very near to Alvise's type of Putto. All this bears out more forcibly than any other picture, Mr. Berenson's

Notes on
Various
Works of Art

view that when Solario came to Venice he studied in the atelier of the Vivavini. But now comes the disturbing question—is it after all by Andrea Solario? If it were not signed, it would, I think, be attributed to him, if for no other reason, on account of the peculiar harmony of the scarlet and blue. But it is signed in what appears to be genuine fifteenth-century script “*Antonius da Solario Venetus f.*,” whereas Solario’s pictures of about this period executed in Venice, as, for instance, the picture in the Brera already alluded to, are signed in capital letters, **ANDREAS MEDIOLANENSIS. F.** ¶ Now there was an artist called Antonio Solario who worked in Naples, and whom Neapolitan historians have treated in their usual romancing style. According to Ticozzi’s dictionary he was a pupil of Lippo Dalmassius of Bologna, an assistant of Pisanello, and died about 1450. Such an artist would be out of the question for a picture which clearly belongs to the last decade of the fifteenth century. But probably these accounts are mythical, and indeed, according to Burkhart’s *Cicerone*, Antonio Solario directed and designed the fresco decorations of the convent of Sanseverino at Naples. These frescoes are described as belonging to the close of the quattrocento, and as showing Venetian and Ferrarese influences. Unfortunately I am not acquainted with them. It would certainly be a strange coincidence if Antonio Solario’s work were so closely akin to Andrea’s that he could have produced a picture which, without its signature, would certainly be taken for an exceptionally rich and harmonious example of the Lombard artist’s work. Some of our readers to whom Antonio Solario’s works are familiar, will doubtless be able, by the help of this reproduction, to throw light on the curious problem raised by this signature. The difficulty is not made less by the consideration that if a name had to be forged, that of the little-known Antonio Solario would scarcely commend itself.

ROGER FRY.

DRAWINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE



WE publish this month two more reproductions of drawings in the Chatsworth collection, both of which are, like the drawing published last month, attributed by Mr. S. Arthur Strong to Holbein. The attribution of this Portrait of a Man will not, however, be so generally accepted as that of the other portrait, the authorship of which is unmistakably stamped upon it; only Holbein could have drawn that, whereas this portrait might have been drawn by many others; and if it is, indeed, the work of Holbein, it cannot be reckoned among his masterpieces. Mr. Strong does not, in his preface to the “Chatsworth Drawings,” give his reasons for the attribution. The drawing, which is in black chalk with a wash of red, is assigned by Mr. Strong to Holbein’s later period. The charming designs for goldsmiths’ work, pen and bistre drawings washed with colour (which are reproduced as the frontispiece of the present number), are also given by Mr. Strong to Holbein, and, although here again the reasons for the attribution are not stated, it will perhaps be more generally credited than in the case of the later Portrait of a Man. In any case the designs are very attractive. We have printed Mr. Strong’s attributions on the plates since he gives them with a due sense of responsibility, and they are worthy of serious consideration; but in these, as in so many, cases there is room for discussion, and we feel sure that Mr. Strong would welcome opinions from competent critics no less than we should. Both plates are published here by kind permission of Messrs. Duckworth & Co., the publishers of “Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.”



PORTRAIT OF A MAN, FROM THE DRAWING BY HANS HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.



STANDING SALT

BELONGING TO NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

THE EVOLUTION OF FORM AND DECORATION IN ENGLISH SILVER PLATE

✎ WRITTEN BY PERCY MACQUOID, R.I. ✎

PART II—(*Conclusion*)

IT is well known what an important position the standing salt held on the table in mediaeval times, and it is not necessary here to explain its significance and symbolism. Standing salts are alluded to in wills and records as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, but none of these early specimens are in existence. They do not appear to have followed any accepted shape, but to have been made in the form of dragons, lions, elephants, castles, or human figures, and it was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that a conventional form was arrived at, from which further developments can be traced. This design took an X or hour-glass shape, and was practically one cone inverted on another, connected by a knop. Plate I is of this type, and probably the finest English specimen extant; it is fifteen and a half inches high, is dated 1493, and is Tudor-Gothic in design, though probably inspired by German work, the cresting is double and very elaborate, and the spiral volutes forming the body give much grace. This most important piece of plate is the property of New College, Oxford, and has been photographed by the courtesy of the Warden. In the sixteenth century the salt became straight-sided. The Goldsmiths' Company possess an early specimen of this kind, although of mixed origin, but as they refuse any request to have their plate photographed, even in the cause of art, it is impossible to give a satisfactory reproduction of it. No. 1, Plate III, dated 1563, which belongs to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a further development of the straight-sided form, in this instance cylin-

drical; the entire surface is decorated with the usual Elizabethan ornamentation of masks, fruit, and strap-work in relief, and it is surmounted by a cover with an elaborate finial terminating in a head perforated for use as a pepper castor. Plate II is a very beautiful and perfect salt belonging to the Vintners' Company, and reproduced by their kind permission. It is dated 1569, is square-sided, and of similar construction to the last example, only the design of the decoration doubtless owes its inspiration to the sentiment that the French just at that period infused into their works of art through the influence of Androuet-Ducerceau, Jean Goujon, and their followers. The proportions and workmanship of this salt represent the highest quality of the Renaissance period in English silver work, as the New College specimen does that of Tudor-Gothic times. At the end of the sixteenth century the sides of these cylindrical salts became slightly concave, and an additional compartment was added, this being a repetition of the lower half, and terminating with a ball finial perforated for pepper; these were, therefore, divisible into three portions; they were supported on ball feet, and termed "Bell Salts." No. 2, Plate III, belonging to Sir Samuel Montagu, dated 1599, shows these characteristics very clearly, the ornament being a low, almost flat strap-work on a matted ground, similar to that found on the steeple cups of the time. Belonging to the same collection is No. 3, of the reign of Charles I. Here, in place of a close cover, a shallow cupola is raised on scroll brackets surmounted by the well-known spire of the steeple cup, the sides have become straight once more, but the surface, like most of the plate of that period, is plain.

¶ The standing salt during the latter part of the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth ceased to occupy the same important position, and as republican sentiments grew



Sketch A.

and spread, so the hard and fine lines of caste began to diminish, and the objects connected with their observance were no longer in such demand. It is curious to find that the last development (see illustration A in the text, a salt of 1676) is merely a reversion back to the X form of the fifteenth century. Standing salts are by this time plain, with round or octagonal bases and tops, generally about 9 inches in diameter, from which spring short arms to support a napkin used instead of a cover. For some time previous to this a fashion had arisen for what were termed trencher salts, of quite small size, to be distributed among the guests; these were quite plain, flat, and of round or triangular shape. As the standing salt disappeared, the trencher salt began gradually to assert itself, and attention was turned to its development. The trencher salt (B) of William III's time, only differs from the larger variety (A) in being smaller. C is of much the same period as B, but its form is more trencher-shaped. The plain octagonal shape as D,

but with more elaborate mouldings, continued to be made from the reign of Anne until 1734, but after this date the salt-cellar assumed an entirely different design, taking the form of a little bowl mounted on legs; this type is represented in the drawing E. Paul Lamerie and the silversmiths of his school elaborated these salts with intricate and florid decoration to such an extent that we turn with relief to the purer taste of 1770, to which we owe the well-known plain classical boat shape and the straight-sided perforated bowl, generally ornamented with masks and testoons, like drawings F and G. ¶ Porringers and caudle cups are practically the same class of vessel. They were introduced early in the seventeenth century for the possets and hot drinks that were so much in vogue at that time. The earliest are gourd-shaped, narrowing at the neck, with two thick ring handles. The sudden introduction of this original shape into England, as in the case of the mazer, can be traced to an Oriental source. The vessel illustrated in the text (H) is an early seventeenth-century Eastern water-bowl made of engraved brass inlaid with copper, and the resemblance of this vessel to the porringer, No. 1, Plate IV, justifies the compari-



Sketch B.

son. Specimens of these caudle cups, and also beer mugs of almost identical shape, are to be found at Oxford, and in the possession of some of the City Companies; but I must



STANDING SALT

BELONGING TO THE VINTNERS' COMPANY

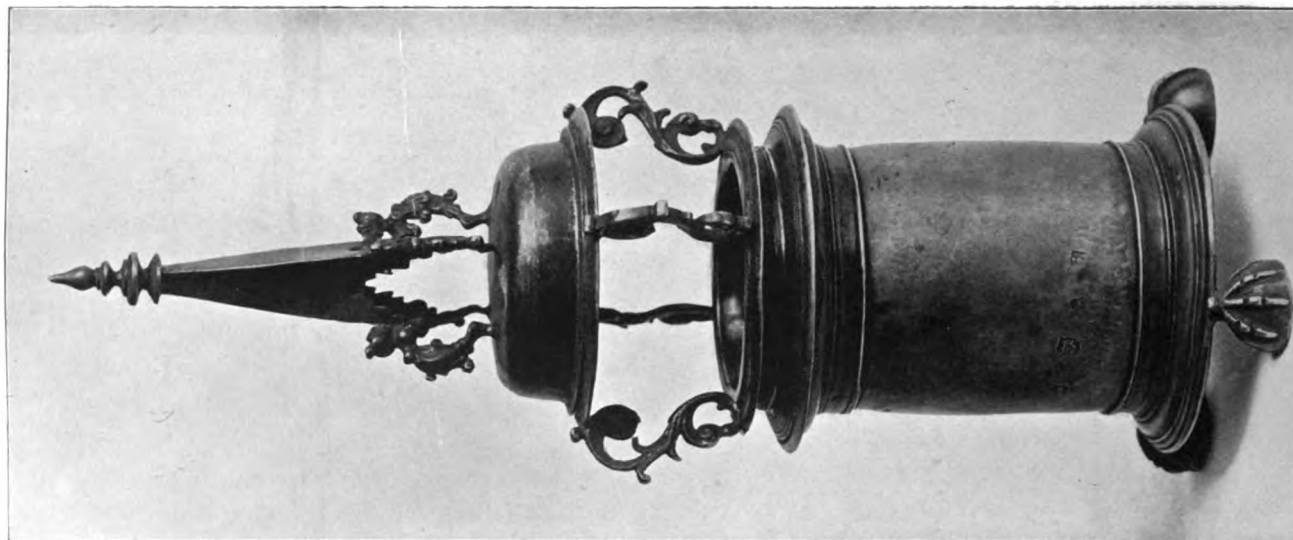


No. 1



No. 2

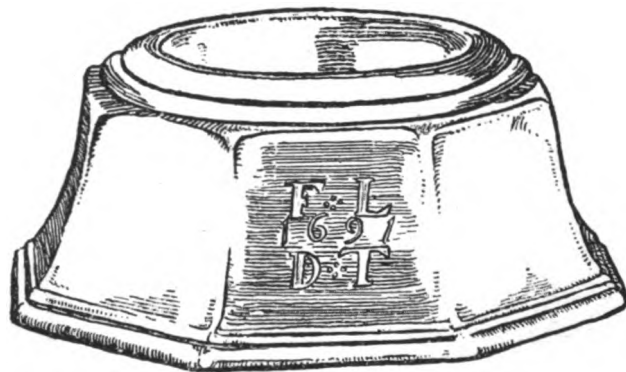
STANDING SALTS



No. 3

state that the particular example, No. 1, given in illustration is some years later than the date of its fashion. It is one of a pair formerly belonging to Queen's College, Oxford, and now in the possession of Col. George Kemp. These were doubtless copies made in 1690 to replace or add to the original existing set, which are dated fifty years earlier, as are those belonging to the Mercers' Company. The construction of this cup is curiously solid; though but four inches in height, it weighs over fourteen ounces; it is of hammered metal, which shows that not only was the early shape of the original accurately followed, but also the method of its manufacture. It was a natural step to lighten and ornament these plain vessels. No. 2 shows the distribution of restrained decoration in a mixture of line and flat relief on a porringer of the Commonwealth period, 1657. With the Restoration this ornamental relief became higher and the forms more realistic, as in No. 3 (of 1662), and a few years later the decoration was in full relief, as No. 4 (of 1667), and lions, unicorns, and other beasts and birds were introduced, gambolling enthusiastically amidst impossible bossed-out flowers and vegetation. About 1675 these vessels ceased to be gourd-shaped, and became straight-sided, necessitating a severer style of decoration, taking the form of a surbase of upright acanthus in repoussé or in plain applied card-cutting, though sometimes the entire surface is found plain or engraved with plants or figures in the Chinese taste; for it was exactly at this time that the first real wave of Chinese influence occurred in England in furniture, textiles, and silver plate, the French artist Bérain being largely responsible for its cult. Of these acanthus porringers No. 5, dated 1688, is a good though late specimen, for the acanthus design was the most short-lived of any that appeared on English plate; it lasted barely twenty years, and then drifted into the spiral gadrooning of No. 6. This latter pattern continued well into the following century.

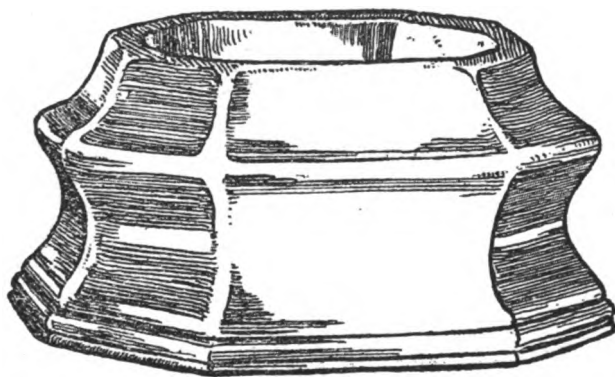
About 1675 a very low foot was introduced on the heavier porringers, and this feature very rapidly developed. In No. 7, of late Anne type, this foot has assumed distinct proportions, and the vessel itself is becoming vase-shaped. Early in the eighteenth century, the porringer being no longer in the same requisition, the next evolution in design was to mount it on a higher base for purposes of a more decorative character, whence the beginning of the two-handled cup and the shape that for some mysterious reason has ever since been consecrated to the racing prize. The base gradually became taller and the bowl narrower, till it developed in George III's reign into the classical urn shape, bearing the strong Adam stamp



Sketch C. See page 360.

like the cup in the drawing J. ¶ Most of the early porringers were made with covers, and in many instances with dishes on which to serve them. The examples given are without these, and are chosen not on account of their individual perfection, but as a close key to their changes. The evolution of form in the handles is most interesting. In No. 3 they are cast in the manner of the late Renaissance, in the shape of female forms, and there is still some grace of modelling in the figures, but with constant repetition by the craftsman without any fresh design these two little ladies' heads develop into lumps, then into beads, and finally into little protuberances to rest the thumb on. Another curious detail is the whistle at the end of a tankard handle. Originally constructed in Jacobean

times as a real whistle for the encouragement of what we should call to-day "ordering fresh drinks all round," it deteriorated through reproduction, like the third eye of the antediluvian saurian, till it became a useless cavity, but the outward form continued year after year, and is to be found on almost every tankard handle. ¶ No doubt the majority of early candlesticks, being subject to constant and rough usage, were made of base metal, but it is certain from records and manuscripts that candlesticks for domestic use were also made in silver from very early times, though no examples exist of a date before the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century the candlestick appears to have been a variation of a dwarf



Sketch D. See page 360.

one copied from an Italian pattern, and consisted merely of a socket on a short neck mounted on a petticoat base; but directly the candlestick began to be used on the table for meals it naturally assumed much higher proportions. No. 1, Plate V, dated 1670, is one of the earliest of these. The shaft consists of a cluster of small columns, and is a direct reproduction of the fourteenth-century ecclesiastical candlestick, which took its shape from the contemporary cathedral column; the section of the foot or base, like all early specimens, is dished, and where it joins the stem a lobed and scalloped ledge is observable, presumably to catch the grease. This ledge lasted till about 1708, after which the candlestick ceased to be made of hammered metal. The process

of hammering thin metal was the most suitable for the design employed, and any waste of metal was thereby avoided. The wholesale confiscation and destruction of plate that had taken place earlier in the seventeenth century had created a feeling of distrust in the country, which found expression in the desire to make as much show as possible with a minimum of the precious metal. No. 2, dated 1694, shows the shape which these candlesticks assumed a few years later. The shafts are, without exception, fluted, and in place of a capital some plain mouldings support a fixed gadrooned nozzle, but the ledge at the base of the column is still preserved. Occasionally this same shape is carried out in a plain design like No. 3, dated 1702, in which the sole decoration is the fluting of the column and the well-considered mouldings of the other parts. These domestic candlesticks rarely exceed nine inches in height, but No. 4, dated four years later, is over twelve; they were sometimes made on a very large scale for City Companies. It should be noticed that by repetition the gadrooning becomes closer and smaller. This design, after having attained great finish and perfection, suddenly ceased to be in request, probably from a desire to have a heavier yet smaller article more suited to the fashionable little card-tables of William and Anne; so the method of manufacture was changed, and casting was introduced; the columns became baluster in shape, of more slender proportions, and the elementary nozzle disappeared for about forty years. No. 5, of 1694, belonging to Mr. J. E. Taylor, is of this type, the relics of the ledge being still gadrooned; No. 6, of 1705, from the same collection, proves a further and more solid step; this simple design in octagon continued for forty years. In No. 7, dated 1742, one can see how slight the departure is from the original form, though an influence of the rococo spirit is apparent. The last development of George III is perhaps the most decorative of all candlesticks. In



No. 1



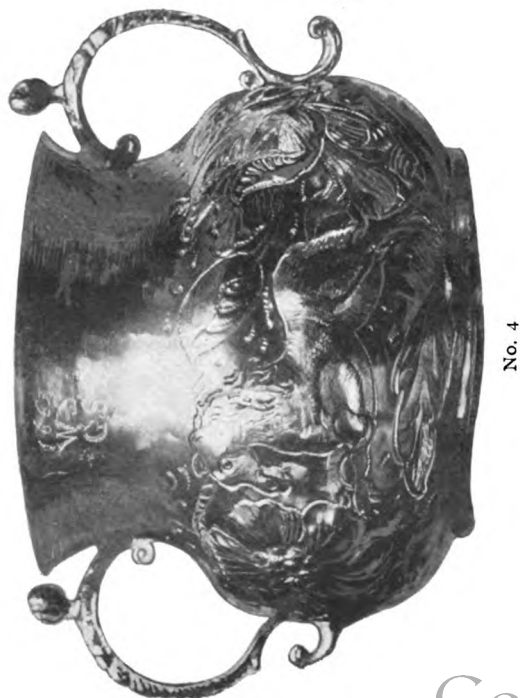
No. 2



No. 3



No. 7



No. 4

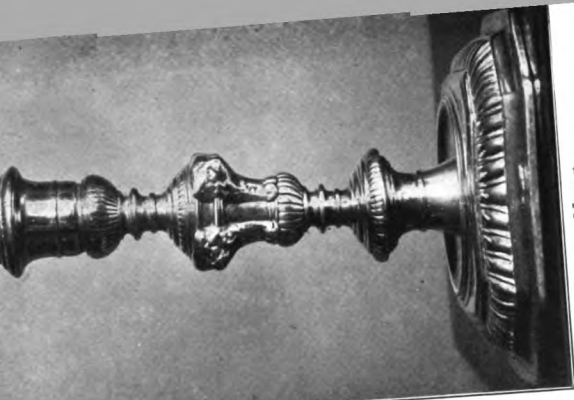


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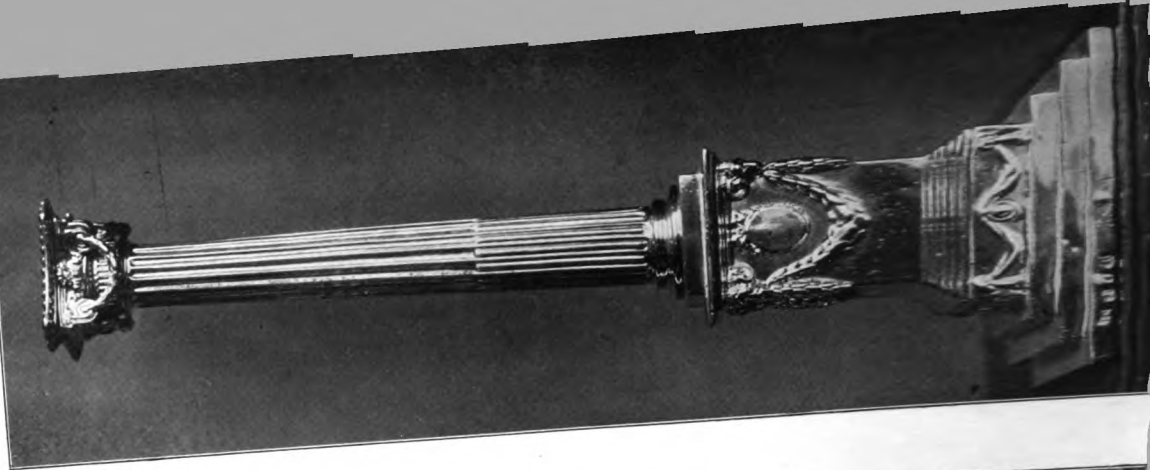


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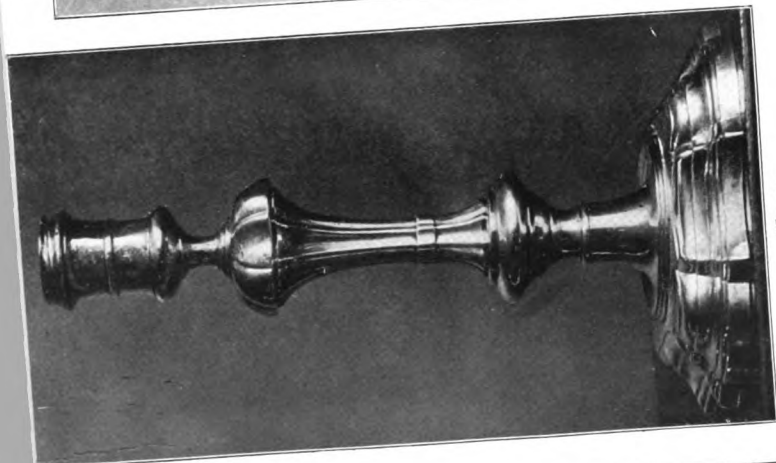
PORRINGERS



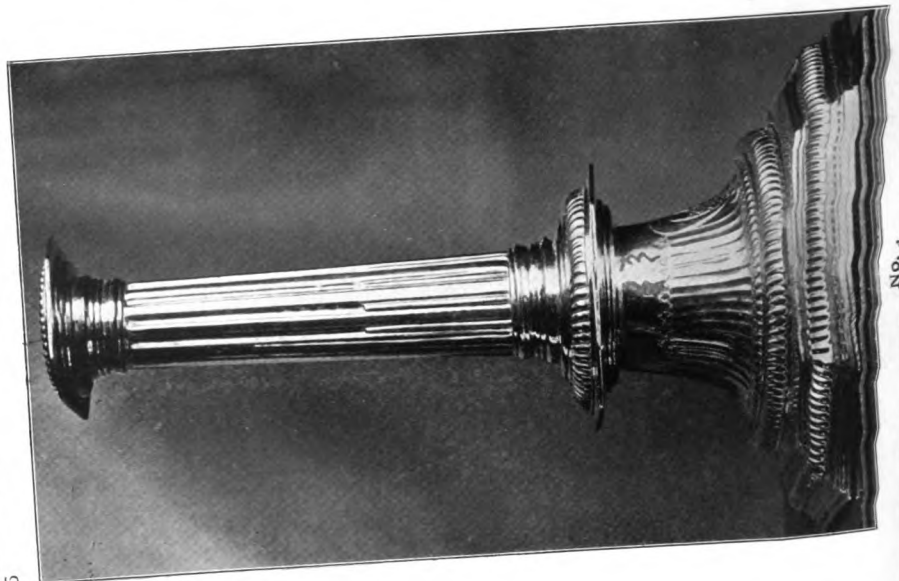
No. 5



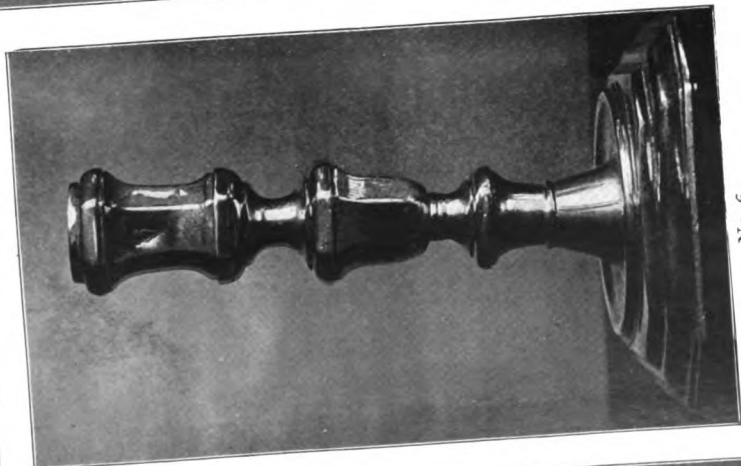
No. 3



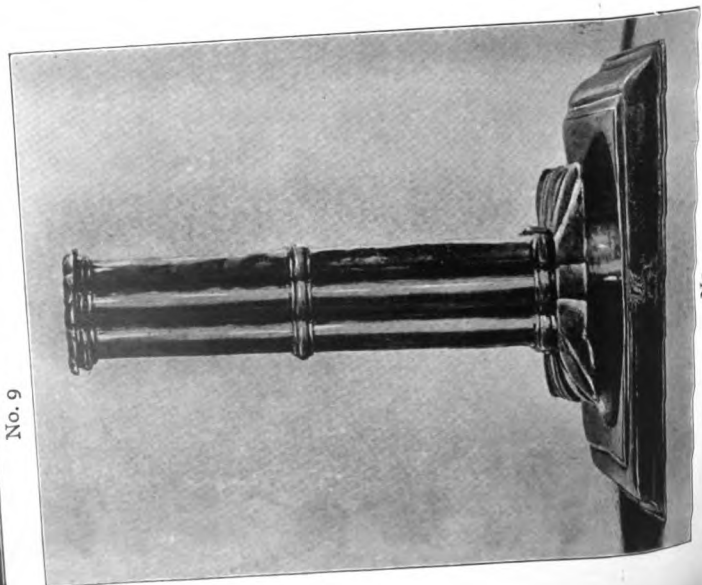
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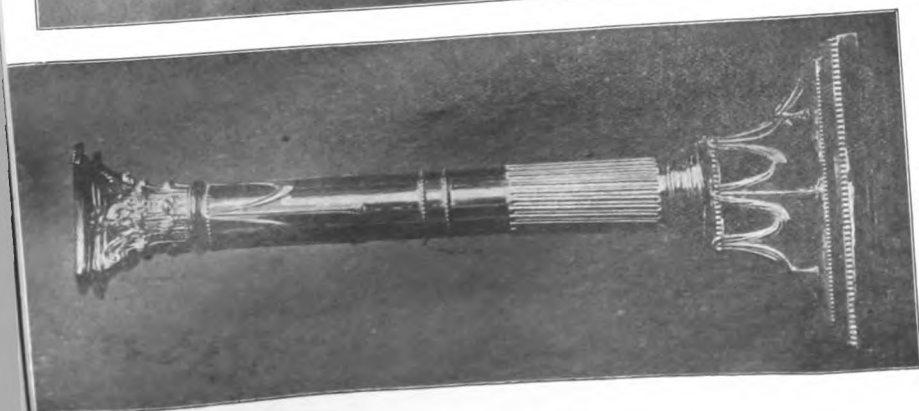
No. 4



No. 6



No. 1



No. 9

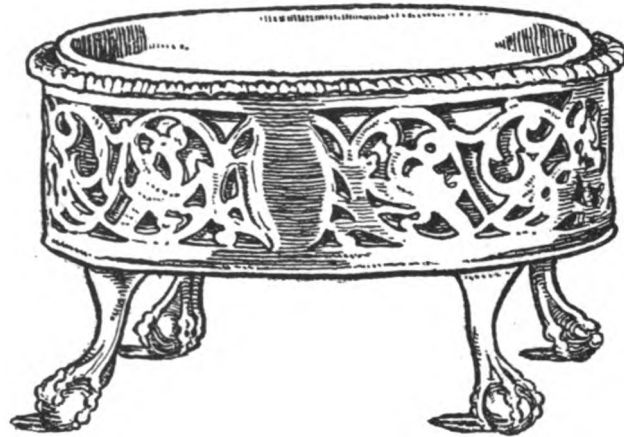
No. 8, of 1772, belonging to Col. Fearon Tipping, the former idea of a column is resumed and very elaborately treated; it is also again made of hammered metal. No. 9 is a later treatment of the same idea. All candlesticks after this date are uninteresting reproductions of the last three varieties. ¶ No exact age can be assigned to the spoon, the earliest records being Egyptian. The rudimentary idea of the spoon is supposed to have originated from a shell. The first development must have been to mount the shell on to a handle of wood, bone, or metal; next the whole object would have been roughly fashioned out of bone, wood, or metal. It is interesting to find how taste reverted to the original, for in Renaissance times rare shells, ivory, crystal, and agate were constantly used for the bowls, mounted on elaborate metal handles. The earlier the spoon, the more the bowl approaches the shape of a plover's egg, the pointed end being near the handle. In Roman, Byzantine, and Gothic spoons, the bowl is on a much lower level than the handle; by the fifteenth century this difference of levels is less apparent, but the bowl still remains well below the handle, and continues so for many years. The handles in Gothic times



Sketch E. See page 360.

were square-sided, the tops terminating with some ornament—an acorn, a diamond-shaped knop, a lion sejant, human heads or whole figures, such as the Apostles; and

finally the handle finished in what is known as the seal-top. For about a hundred years from 1550 the seal-top form of spoon was more generally prevalent than any other, and isolated examples are found as late as 1679, but these are rare. The original shape of the seal was hexagonal, and the necking, or little moulding supporting it, similar in form; early in Elizabeth's reign this seal became rounder, and the plain necking developed into a little flattened ball divided into sections. Towards the end of the century this ball was exchanged for a little vase or baluster-like shape, with low acanthus relief, the seal-top still remaining round; this continued through the reign of James I, then the ball shape under the seal was once more introduced on the top of a longer baluster. This chronological evolution is a very certain way of dating unmarked spoons. There is also a spoon called the slip-top, which originated in the second half of the sixteenth century; the apostle or figure was removed, in order to meet the ultra rigorous ideas of the new Protestant religion, and the stem was cut to an oblique finish; others were then made to match these, and so a fashion was created that was revived later by the Puritans. ¶ No. 1, Plate VI, is an example of an early spoon, being of about 1440; its top, formed as a Gothic cone, is gilt, as were all the ornamental tops to this type of spoon;

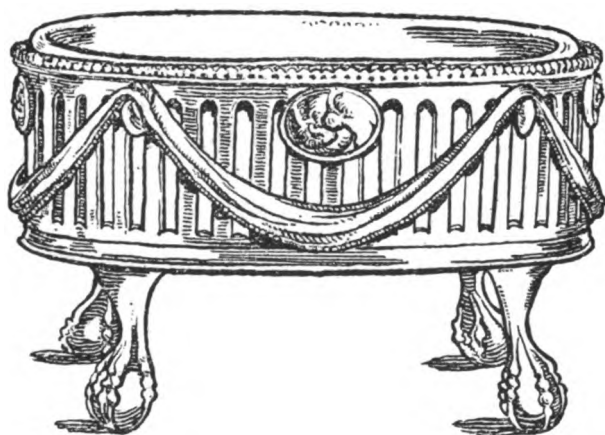


Sketch F. See page 360.

other, and isolated examples are found as late as 1679, but these are rare. The original shape of the seal was hexagonal, and the necking, or little moulding supporting it, similar in form; early in Elizabeth's reign this seal became rounder, and the plain necking developed into a little flattened ball divided into sections. Towards the end of the century this ball was exchanged for a little vase or baluster-like shape, with low acanthus relief, the seal-top still remaining round; this continued through the reign of James I, then the ball shape under the seal was once more introduced on the top of a longer baluster. This chronological evolution is a very certain way of dating unmarked spoons. There is also a spoon called the slip-top, which originated in the second half of the sixteenth century; the apostle or figure was removed, in order to meet the ultra rigorous ideas of the new Protestant religion, and the stem was cut to an oblique finish; others were then made to match these, and so a fashion was created that was revived later by the Puritans. ¶ No. 1, Plate VI, is an example of an early spoon, being of about 1440; its top, formed as a Gothic cone, is gilt, as were all the ornamental tops to this type of spoon;

The Evolution of Form and Decoration in English Silver Plate

the handle is four-sided, and the dip to the bowl very pronounced. In the little spoon No. 2, which was probably made for a child about 1520, the bowl is still elongated, but



Sketch G. See page 360.

the handle is hexagonal, finishing in a Gothic necking of three fillets surmounted by a pommel top. The next, No. 3, of 1528, is the earliest hall-marked Tudor-Gothic seal-top known to me: the seal and support are hexagonal. In No. 4, of Mary's reign, the support of the seal is no longer Gothic, but melon-shaped. The change of bowl, and the alteration in the shape of the seal, which is now round, are distinctly visible in No. 5 of 1564. No. 6, of 1600, and No. 7, of 1625, show the further development of this seal-top; the support goes on becoming more elongated and more ornate in design till the type ceases. Of the various forms of figure-headed spoons, No. 8 is of exceptionally early date, about 1450; the figure is a maiden holding in her hand a heart. No. 9, dated 1543, which is topped with a lion sejant, was another favourite form of spoon. No. 10 is a later maiden-headed spoon, of 1598; the bust is clothed in a calyx of fleurs de luce. These three spoons, together with No. 12, are reproduced from the collection of the late Mr. Charles Kennedy. Apostle spoons are too well known to need description; the figure on No. 11, of 1630, is St. Matthias bearing his emblem of a halberd. These

were very favourite christening gifts, and bore the child's patron saint. They were made singly in large quantities for this purpose, a complete set of thirteen with the Master spoon being extremely rare. The Charles II lion-topped spoon, No. 13, is given to show the change that has taken place in the shape of the bowl, and No. 1, of Plate VII, shows a similar type of bowl with its Puritan slip-top handle, foreshadowing the next development. ¶ The form of the spoon obviously does not lend itself to much variety of treatment in decoration, and when every idea in the way of terminal finish had been exhausted, a novelty from France, introduced by Charles II, was welcomed. A sudden and distinct change was made in the whole form of the spoon; the bowl became a perfect oval; the handle was made quite flat, the top of which broadened out and was cleft with two divisions into the rude resemblance of a hind's foot, hence called *pied de biche*, but in England, for no very apparent reason, fish-tail. The bowl of these spoons is



Sketch H. See page 360.

quite level with the stem, strengthened at its juncture by a prolongation of the stem termed a rat-tail; at the outset this rat-tail was contrived merely for strength, and was

PLATE VI

No. 7

No. 6

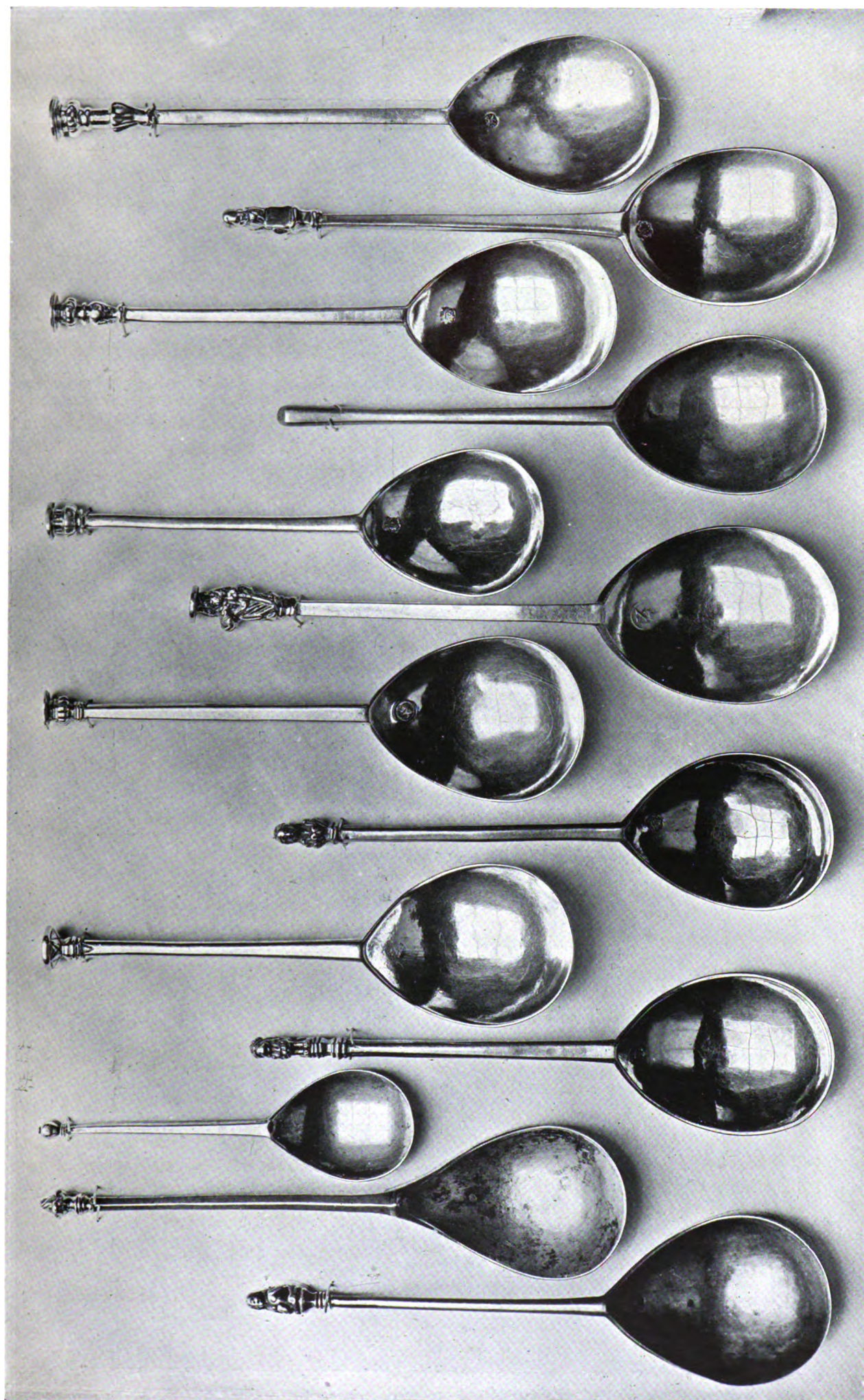
No. 5

No. 4

No. 3

No. 2

No. 1



No. 13

No. 12

No. 11

No. 10

No. 9

No. 8

EARLY SPOONS, A.D. 1440-1660

PLATE VII

No. 10

No. 9

No. 8

No. 7

No. 6

No. 5

No. 4

No. 3

No. 2

No. 1

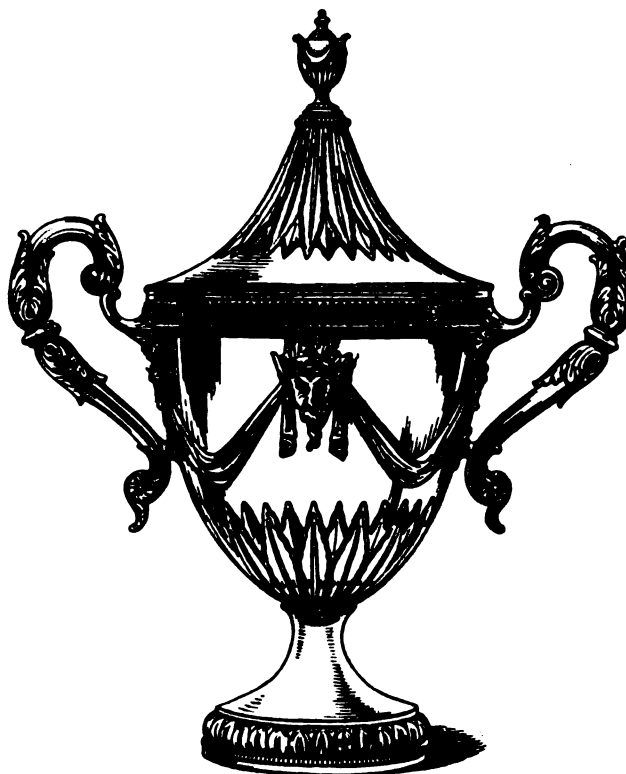


LATER SPOONS, A.D. 1655-1800

probably suggested by a combined fork and spoon which was made abroad in earlier times, in which the prongs of the fork folded over the back of a movable bowl fitting into little sockets. Originally the tail was decorated, the rest of the spoon remaining plain, though later specimens are found with engraved or die-stamped patterns on the back of the bowl and the front of the handle. Flat-handled spoons continued, with variations, into Anne's reign; the clefts at the top were gradually omitted, and the bowl by degrees became deeper and took the form we are accustomed to eat with to-day. About 1710 the handle of the spoon was bent forward and rounded, and a strong rib running down the face was a characteristic feature for twenty years or more; finally the rat-tail became shorter and squarer till it degenerated into the meaningless little shoulders found on modern spoons. No. 2, Plate VII, is one of these cleft-topped flat-handled spoons; the rat-tail is rudimentary, but the complete oval of the bowl and the cleft top are very pronounced. The complete development of the rat-tail is shown in No. 3 of 1667, and in the chocolate spoon, No. 4, of about the same date, in which it must be noted that the prick marking is later than the date of the spoons. The die-stamping decoration is shown clearly in No. 5, whilst Nos. 6 and 7 show the front and back of two spoons of 1679 with the rat-tail beaded. Till this date the top of the handle had remained broad, but with the advent of William III's reign it began to diminish, the clefts closed up leaving a centre point; the bowl became longer and deeper with the rat-tail round in section as No. 8. No. 9 of 1709 shows the rounded top. The chocolate, coffee, and tea-spoons, of which examples are given, follow all these evolutions. The rat-tail commenced about 1660 and lasted rather over eighty years, when its place was taken by a simple tongue, a shell, or a scroll, and at the same time the bowl became pointed, as in No. 10 of George III. ¶ Forks were

originally two-pronged, and existed as early as the fourteenth century, mention of them being found in inventories of that time; but whether these were English or imported from abroad it is impossible to decide. At that early period it is certain they were not used in conjunction with the knife for meat, but merely for fruits and sweetmeats; the fork was first used as an adjunct to the knife at table in Italy. Thomas Coryat, who died in 1617, is reputed to have introduced

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Sketch J. See page 365.

the table fork into this country, and in the account he wrote of his travels he says :—

I observed a custom in all these Italian cities and townes through which I passed that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither do I thinke that any other nation of Christendom use it, but only Italy. The Italians, and also most strangers that are comorant in Italy, doe always at their meals use a little forke when they eat their meate . . for while with their knife, which they hold in one hand, they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten the forke which they hold in the other hand, upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he

be that sitting in the company of any others at meale, should inadvisedly touch the dish of meat with his fingers, from which all the table doe cut, he will give offence unto the company, as having transgressed the laws of good manners, insomuch that for his error he shall at least be browbeaten, if not reprehended in wordes. The cause of this curiosity is because the Italian cannot by any means indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myself thought it good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and often times in England since I came home.

The prongs of early examples are generally of steel and very long, almost the length of the handle, which is fashioned out of silver, carved ivory, amber, or some such substance. Forks of one entire piece of silver and made in sets are not found until the middle of the seventeenth century; they were regarded as a great luxury, and a dozen was considered an adequate quantity to possess. There is a set of these in Cornwall dated 1667, which is the earliest set of English forks known; they are three-pronged and flat-handled with cleft tops like spoons of the same period. Although three-pronged silver forks were at first usual, isolated examples of four prongs are found of this date, and also of two prongs; these two-pronged silver forks may seem extremely inconvenient to our modern ideas, but it must be remembered that our ancestors ate their vegetables and small food from the back of their knives. ¶ The fork followed precisely the same evolution as the spoon; the flat handle gave way to the round with a rib down the front; this rib in course of time disappeared, and the fourth prong, which had not been seen for over a hundred years, was introduced as a perma-

nency. No. 1, Plate VIII, in the possession of Mr. Edward Dent, is the earliest four-prong fork known; it is dated 1681; it has a flat, thick handle on which is a cipher of the time with a ducal coronet. No. 2, which belongs to Sir Samuel Montagu, is two-pronged with a broad straight handle of the same type. In No. 3, dated 1698, the prongs are three in number, the handle more graceful in form, and the centre point at the top corresponds to that of the spoons of the same reign. The prongs of these three forks are short, but in Nos. 4 and 5, from sets dated 1710 and 1712, the prongs are long and pointed, and the rib down the handle is seen for the first time. No. 6 is a fruit fork of some eight years later. Great strength and solidity mark the two-pronged forks Nos. 7 and 8; they are from a set of a dozen dated 1716. No. 9 is a fruit fork of the following year from a corresponding set. No. 10 is a later and straighter development of the fork which went on into George III's reign, and No. 11 is the modern — horror introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century. ¶ Of forks and their varieties there is really very little to say. Fingers were made before forks and played so important a part at a meal that one can fully understand the practical necessity of the Rosewater dish; and at the time when Art interested herself most in plate, English forks were virtually non-existent. Peeter Harracke and Paul Lamerie, although important silversmiths, failed to evolve anything fresh in these objects from the accepted pattern of their times. For want of space I have not referred to the many other articles of domestic plate that were in use, but have chosen those objects which most clearly show their evolution.

[Part I was published in No. 2, April 1903.]

PLATE VIII

No. 11

No. 10

No. 9

No. 8

No. 7

No. 6

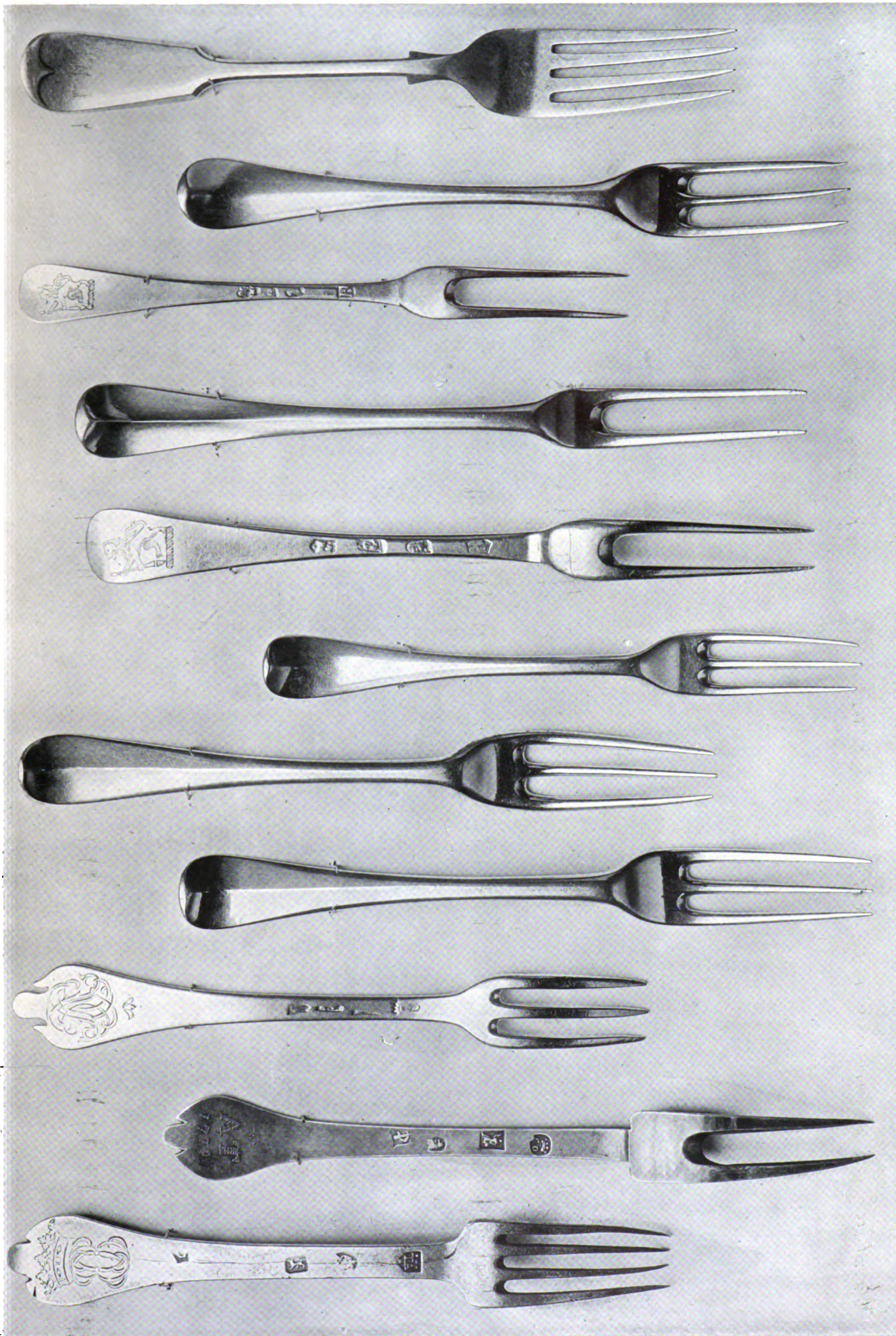
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FORKS, A.D. 1681-1820

THE DUTUIT COLLECTION

✎ WRITTEN BY ROSE KINGSLEY AND CAMILLE GRONKOWSKI ✎

ARTICLE I.—ITS MAKERS AND ITS HISTORY

THE inauguration last December of the Dutuit Collection at the Petit Palais, demonstrated what might be accomplished in the nineteenth century by an intelligent provincial amateur, backed by a considerable fortune, and sufficiently eclectic to admit books, prints, antiques, paintings, bibelots—in fact all branches of “curiosity” into his galleries. This assemblage of remarkable works of art is due to two, or rather, to be exact, to three persons—Eugène Dutuit, the elder brother, Auguste, the younger, who so recently bestowed this royal gift on the City of Paris, and their sister, Héloïse Dutuit, who took delight in forming a small group of precious objects from China and Japan, of which we shall have occasion to speak later on. ¶ But before we proceed to any description of this satisfying collection, it seems fitting that some slight sketch of the singularly interesting personalities of those who gathered it together, and of their methods, should be given as an introduction to the various series of which it is composed. We shall thereby see that certain touches in Balzac’s famous “Cousin Pons” come curiously near reality at times. ¶ It has been generally said and written that the brothers Dutuit were born at Rouen. This, however, is not the case. It was at Marseilles that Eugène first saw the light on April 7, 1807; and there his brother Auguste was born in 1810. Their family alone was of Norman origin, honourably known there, and possessed of deeds and seals which date back as far as the fifteenth century. After the Revolution they established themselves in the South of France, where they embarked

in the wool trade and soon became possessed of numerous spinning mills. Their fortune once made—and that very roundly—the young Dutuits hastened back to their native province, to which they were warmly attached, showing themselves thereby the true descendants of their far-away ancestors, the Norman conquerors, bold, adventurous, eager for gain, but equally eager to return to the *pays* to enjoy the booty won under distant skies. ¶ Once settled in Normandy Eugène and Auguste Dutuit, young, rich, and absolute masters of their fancies and their fortunes, came to a surprising decision, and that, be it remembered, in the very midst of the Louis-Philippe period, in one that is to say which was singularly *terre-à-terre* and anti-artistic. They deliberately determined to consecrate the whole of their energies and the greater part of their large fortune to no less an object than that of gathering up the scattered and despised fragments of the great epochs of art. They desired to preserve these delicate marvels from destruction, to awaken public taste, to preach by example, and to carry on in their provincial sphere the admirable and reparative work which the excellent Lenoir inaugurated, when he rescued those countless treasures in which we rejoice to-day from the hands of the revolutionary mob. And this great work was to be done, and was done, without noise, without ostentation, for pure love of art. We may well bow with respect before such a vocation, wholly exempt from vain-glory, self-seeking or snobbery, and yet coming into being under the Monarchy of July. ¶ It was on a spring day in 1832, that Eugène Dutuit, as he wandered along the Ruelle du Vieux-Palais in Rouen, made his first purchase. It was an essentially

modest beginning, an obscure Italian engraving representing the denial of St. Peter, which by no means presaged the splendid collection of 12,000 prints that are to-day the pride of the Petit Palais, numbering among them 410 original etchings by Rembrandt. The first step once taken, for it marks the actual birth of the Collection Dutuit, purchases accumulated with astonishing rapidity. The young collector had kept his legal terms, and had even been called as an honorary member to the Bar at Rouen: but though a Norman, he now cast chicanery aside and began to travel, in order, as he justly expressed it, to educate his eye. His younger brother, Auguste, soon began to help him to some slight extent in his purchases, and kept him well informed about sales and bargains. But here a delicate question presents itself. What is the share due to each brother in the collection we see to-day? If we insist somewhat particularly on this point, it is that it seems to us one of considerable interest, and access to documents which are unknown to the general public enables us to throw some light upon it. ¶ It must at once be acknowledged that Eugène Dutuit was the mainspring, the master-mind of the collection. It was to his accurate taste, his enlightened judgment, his thorough knowledge of a work of art, that the impulsion was due, and that later on the purchases were maintained within the right lines. Directly or indirectly his influence always makes itself felt. He was before all else a bibliophile and an iconographer. To him are due those precious illuminated MSS. of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; those intensely interesting block-printed volumes, known to-day as incunabula, the first essays of an art as yet in its infancy; those *chefs d'œuvre* of wood-engraving of the sixteenth century, the Groliers, the Maïoli, the Fanfares, in such perfect condition that one might imagine the books came but yesterday from the binder's hand; and those magnificent editions of the eighteenth century which seem

to spell the last word of perfection, in which all is harmony and delicacy, the exquisite art of an Eisen, a Moreau, a Gravelot, a Cochin, united to the superb bindings of a Derôme or a Padeloup—a case in all truth worthy to enshrine such jewels. ¶ As an iconographer Eugène succeeded in forming one of the richest private collections of prints extant. Besides this he was a really accomplished connoisseur, and his principal work, the “*Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*,” remains a classic on the subject. We learn with regard to this book that he was tormented by scruples at the outset of his work. He wished to begin with the great master Rembrandt, but it was pointed out to him that Charles Blanc, whose reputation as an authority was incontestable, universal and academic, had just published a book on the same subject. Eugène hesitated for some time; then, saying to himself that the work of the esteemed but pompous critic was rather a drawing-room book, he resolutely set to work. “*L'œuvre complet de Rembrandt*” (1883-1885) is a *catalogue raisonné* with a commentary. It obtained a gold medal at the Amsterdam Exhibition, and a diploma of honour at that of Bordeaux. ¶ Eugène Dutuit was wont to declare that engraving is the most intimate of all arts, the one which is most easily accessible to the uninitiated, and that his astonishment was great on seeing how little or how erroneously this branch of *curiosité* had been studied. Therefore as early as 1846, when he became a member of the Academy of Rouen, his reception speech was an “*Essai sur les graveurs de l'École Française*.” In 1869 he tried a bold experiment, when, on behalf of the Union of Fine Arts applied to Industry, he organized the first exhibition of engravings ever attempted in France. His private collection of prints alone, numbering at that date about 500, paid the whole expenses of the exhibition. In 1881 he repeated his experiment, making a fresh and more complete loan to the *Exposition d'Estampes du Cercle de la Librairie*, under the direction of M. Georges Duplessis.

Striving as usual to demonstrate the educational side of the subject, he endeavoured this time to present "a living history of engraving," and as vanity was repugnant to his fine and modest nature, he would not hear of presiding at the committees, he who had been the actual pioneer and instigator of these exhibitions. On the contrary, he voluntarily effaced himself, appealing to MM. Delisle, Galichon and Danlos for their co-operation in order to offer a more complete, harmonious, and instructive whole to the masses; and the next year he consented to lend the famous "Pièce aux cent florins" from the Palmer sale, a proof in the first state of which we shall speak at length in our next article. ¶ All promoters of Retrospectives indeed found him accessible and generous. In 1865 he sends Limoges enamels, mediaeval triptychs and remarkable ceramics to the Exposition Centrale des Beaux Arts; to the Retrospective Exhibition of 1866 he lends a Ruysdaël, a Hobbema, and a Both; for the Universal Exposition of 1867 he imposes on himself the loss for a while of his Italian goldsmiths' work and majolicas. Two years later he shows sixty-eight admirably bound volumes to the intent "d'offrir des modèles aux artistes qui, de nos jours, ont porté au plus haut degré un art dans lequel la France n'a pas de rivaux." The famous manuscript of "Adonis" by Nicholas Jarry, illustrated by Chauveau, was among them. And with this exhibit he sent a selection of Tanagras, Etruscan or Greek vases, Persian pottery, and Chinese and Japanese objects. ¶ But in this last let us recollect that he was assisted, though feebly, by his brother Auguste. Their collaboration became more thorough at the Universal Exhibition of 1878, when, whilst Eugène lent his ancient art bindings, the younger brother made a sensational and eclectic exhibit. Crowds pressed around his cases in the Trocadero, and Lenormant wrote that they contained "des monuments de tout premier ordre, qui pourraient prendre place dans les galeries

les plus célèbres et les musées des plus grands états." Yes; for it was indeed a remarkable series, with its Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Renaissance medals, its royal French coins, its Luca della Robbias, its Jean de Bologne statuettes, its fifteenth-century Venetian glass, Renaissance jewels, bronzes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and silver from royal collections. Thus, while Eugène was patiently and judiciously building up the cabinet of books and prints, and his fine gallery of seventeenth-century Dutch pictures, Auguste was also collecting in secret, and, moreover, with extreme activity. But the most absolute and complete contrast existed between their two methods. In a word, the elder brother collected on his own account, the younger by proxy. The elder, a wise and cunning hunter, fortunate and clear-sighted in his researches, haunted the curiosity shops, felt and handled each object lovingly, and enjoyed that intimate and delicious sensation of pre-possession which precedes the gesture of the purse. The second examined the catalogues of every important sale, consulted competent authorities, and then gave the order to buy, no matter what the price might be. For he early showed a predilection for what was celebrated and already quoted—if it was historic, so much the better. Sometimes, but rarely, he ventured himself at a sale: but his advisers quickly implored him to retire. Bidders and sellers well knew that no price would stop this ill-dressed little man if he had a fancy to buy; and then there was a wild dance in the bidding. As soon as the treasure was secured by sheer force of bank-notes, this original person thrust it into the capacious pocket of a vast and unimaginable greatcoat—another antiquity—and then, even in bitter weather, took an outside place on the omnibus to save three-halfpence! In the course of these studies we shall have occasion to mention other examples of this eccentricity of humour and ways. But let there be no mistake. Auguste Dutuit was in no wise, as has too

often been said of late, a sordid and repulsive miser. He was simply a man of few wants, somewhat misanthropic and intensely jealous of his independence. Disillusioned on many points, he still cherished one hope deep in his heart—a hope destined never to be realized—that of leaving the name of a great painter to posterity. “I would give all my collection,” he used to say, “if I could achieve one good picture.” And for this end he laboured, alas! in vain. Two canvases in the Petit Palais, not shown, give an idea of his heroic yet fruitless efforts. ¶ The following anecdote, related by Thomas Couture, throws an almost pathetic light on the chimera of this strange amateur. It was in 1842 that Couture, then renowned as a teacher, saw a singular being enter his studio. His appearance was wretched in the extreme, and he carried a large blue cotton umbrella under his arm. “Monsieur,” said the unknown, in uncertain tones, “I should be happy to receive your advice; will you accept me as a pupil?” The painter looked him over rapidly. “His face,” he wrote, “was pale and agitated; he had thick lips, a large mouth, small and searching eyes. I seemed to recognize a touch of the sacristan in his person and of the beggar in his type.” The examination proving unfavourable, Couture refused point blank. Consternation was written on the visitor’s face, who began to withdraw backwards, looking like a criminal. Couture was touched, and cried, “See here, my friend, don’t be in despair, and don’t look like a funeral. Would you care to be my *rapin*?” “Yes, indeed, Monsieur! it would be my greatest happiness.” The next day he arrived joyously with a deal easel, two stools, a modest straw mat, and at once set to work. And for months to come the master, whose studio had never been so well cared for, whose palette had never been kept so bright, blessed the day on which he had made the bargain. A strange bargain, indeed! The *rapin* paid his master 75 francs a month, took him from time to time to the best restaurants,

to grand-tier boxes at the play, and overwhelmed him with attentions and politeness, flying to pick up his brush if it fell, and presenting it with a profound bow—one of those bows only taught by the provincial dancing-master. “My friend, you spoil me,” Couture would growl at times. “You will eat up your little capital; henceforth I shall accept neither dinners nor theatres.” To which the *rapin* answered hurriedly, that the restaurant keeper and the director of the theatre were only paying him for former services. They also frequented the great art sales; and the *rapin* who had previously, and as if in joke, consulted his patron, would exclaim at the end of the bidding, “Do you know, *cher maître*, that the Hobbema we both admired has been sold for 37,000 francs?” “Indeed? It is a fine price; but it is a yet finer picture. Happy are those who can afford such marvels!” “You think so? What you say rejoices me; as it is exactly my way of thinking.” ¶ For two years this went on. Then one day the *rapin*, under pretext of some urgent call, took the diligence and left his distracted master. But Couture never forgot the modest fellow who had been so punctual in his humble duties, so overjoyed at the least word of artistic counsel; and as he passed through Rouen he inquired for one of the name of Dutuit, who lived on the Quai du Havre, and must “do a little painting.” Thomas Couture’s stupefaction may be imagined as he stepped into the hôtel overflowing with marvels, and those precisely the ones which he and his *rapin* had admired at the sales. “You were rich, then?” he cried to his pupil, who hastened to greet him. “Yes.” “And you concealed it?” “I desired before all else to receive honest advice,” answered Auguste Dutuit. ¶ When Eugène died in 1886 this original being found himself sole master of a very large fortune. From this moment the old Rouen hôtel, where, during the lifetime of Héloïse Dutuit, dinners and large receptions had often taken place, became

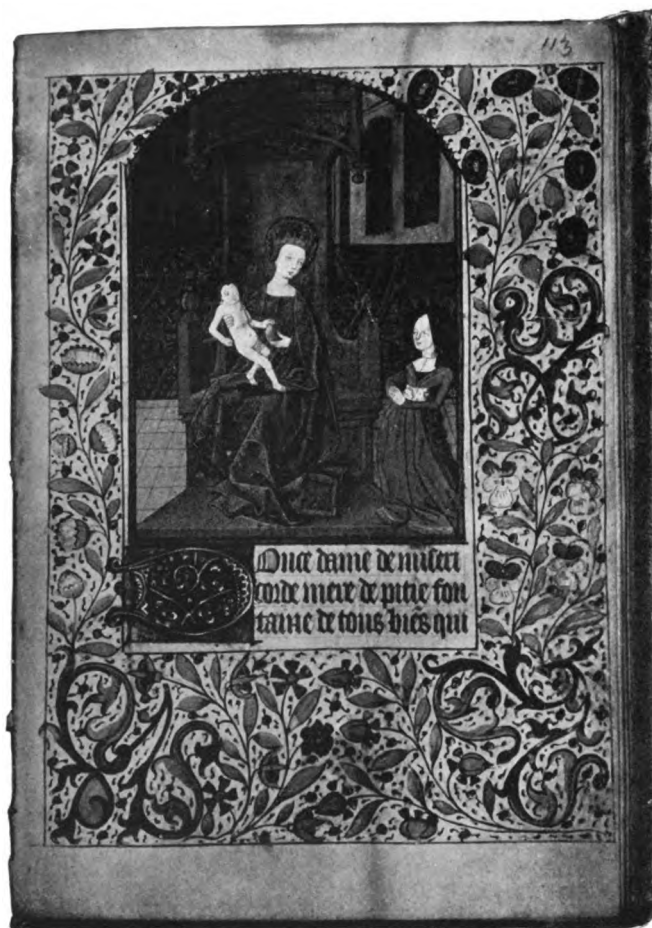
silent, sad and closed to everyone. This was also the case with the châteaux of Moulineaux and Éprémèsnil near Rouen, in which superb works of art were also heaped together. Auguste, moreover, spent great part of the year in Rome, where he had married Signora Ceccaldi, and his little hôtel in the Via del Babuino was gradually filled with Italian majolica and antiques, the latter being his real passion. Sometimes he would buy on the spot, sometimes give orders to his Parisian advisers, who kept him constantly informed of all that was to be had; they were MM. Feuardent, Malinet and Clément. A typical anecdote has come into our hands from a reliable source with regard to one of these personal purchases. Auguste had remarked an Etruscan hand-mirror in the collection of the Marquess Strozzi, and bought it for 8,000 francs; but having no money with him he gave a bill on a Paris banker, M. H——. A few days later the answer came that Auguste Dutuit was unknown to the house, and the bill was returned. Meanwhile Castellani, taking advantage of these delays, bought the mirror for the same sum, 8,000 francs. Auguste's despair was great, and was not appeased until the sale after Castellani's death. On that day Eugène, who was aware of his brother's misadventure, wished to give him a surprise, and desired M. Feuardent, père, to buy the little mirror, which was done forthwith, but for the sum of 28,000 francs. ¶ More than one object in the collection might tell a similar tale, and serve as a commentary on a phrase of Dutuit's, repeated to us by an authoritative witness: "Je m'y connais peu. Mais j'ai pour principe d'acheter dans une collection célèbre le plus bel objet, et je le paye n'importe quel prix." And this explains the extraordinary medley of works of art which go to form the Dutuit Collection. Many are as good as they can be of their kind. But while Eugène's books, prints and pictures are entirely satisfying in their stately intention and well-ordered intelligent sequence, Auguste's

portion of the collection, in which we perceive that the individual value of each object is held to be more important than its place in the history of its special branch of art, is not a little bewildering in its amazing diversity. It is the work of the collector, not that of the connoisseur. ¶ We must not, however, suppose that these objects, so vehemently contested and so dearly bought, were kept lovingly under the eye and hand of their owner. To show how far this was from being the case, we need only mention the fine collection of etchings which Clément the dealer made for him. It was kept in cases in Clément's back shop, and when the dealer died it was not until a lawyer's letter was sent to Rouen that Auguste made up his mind to withdraw his Rembrandts, Albert Dürers, Mantegnas, Schongauers, Lucas van Leydens, his Callots, Raimondis, Van Dycks, Nanteuils, Edelincks, Audrans, not to mention his Claude Lorrains, Cochins, St. Aubins and others. It was not that he was indifferent to them; for he had insured them for 300,000 francs. ¶ He thus knew nothing of the joy of immediate possession. It was enough for this singular man to know that they were his possession by law. His one desire—and this he proved to the full later on—was to enable future workers, art lovers and the masses, to profit by his efforts, by the intelligent and fruitful power of his money. Therefore, when he felt the approach of old age, he determined to leave his rich collection to some museum. But to what museum, and still more in what city? His hesitation was prolonged; his scruples were infinite; they almost reached the proportions of drama. The city of Rouen seemed naturally to be already designated: but she had always shown herself ungrateful to the Dutuits. They had, for instance, endeavoured to buy the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde, in order to place their collections in that marvellous Renaissance setting, and leave the whole thing to their fellow citizens. But the dream was too perfect to come true, and such difficulties were thrown in their

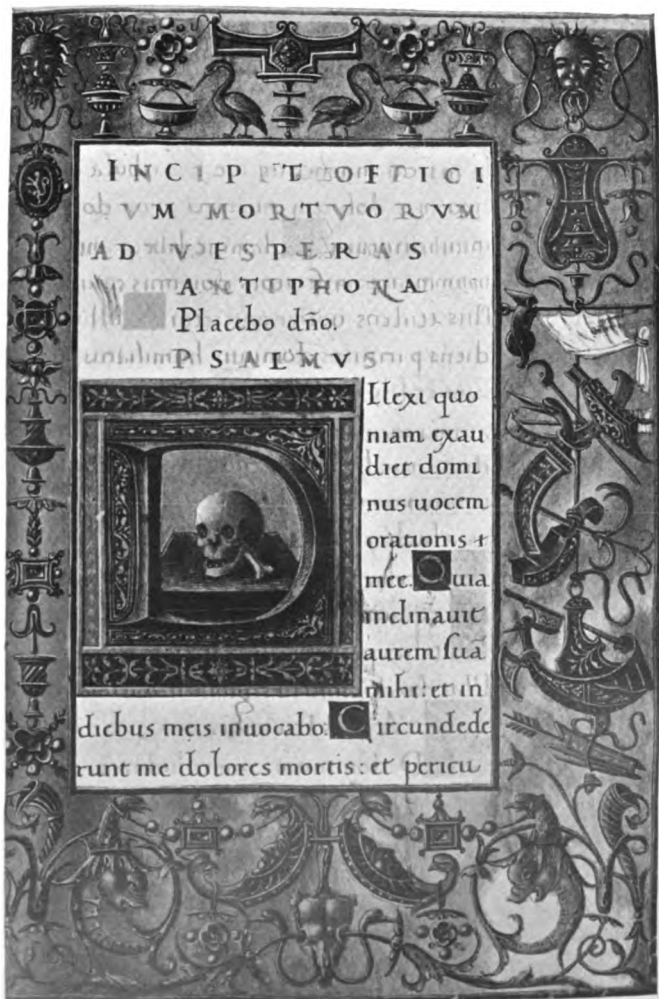
The Dutuit
Collection

way that they were forced to abandon this generous and artistic project. On another occasion, being struck, as everyone must be, by the lamentable condition of Goujon's famous carved doors at St. Maclou, exposed to injury alike from weather and passers by, they proposed to have them copied at their own cost, so that the originals might be preserved in the Rouen Museum: but the municipality received the proposal with such bad grace as to amount to a refusal. Ungrateful Rouen was therefore set aside. There remained Paris, the city of his patriotic duty; and Rome, the city of his Italian predilection. Patriotism carried the day: but here again his wills—there were ten of them—show fresh perplexities. At Cluny there is no space, and, moreover, such a collection would be out of place there. The Louvre then? Auguste Dutuit pondered the matter deeply; but a fear withheld him—a poignant fear, perhaps, alas! too well justified—that of fire. “We must disseminate our treasures,” he said to one of his friends. “Our grand and beloved national museum, united so unfortunately to the Ministry of the Colonies, may perchance one day fall victim to such another disaster as that which destroyed the Alexandrian Library. For my part I wish beforehand to palliate as far as I can an ever-menacing danger. We must de-centralize art in Paris.” This is why he destroyed two wills in which he instituted the Musée des Arts Décoratifs as his heir; for this museum, recently installed in the Pavillon de Marsan, is still part of the Louvre—prolonged. ¶ In 1900, at the Exposition Centennale, the matchless Retrospective Exhibition in the new and charming Museum of the City of Paris, familiarly known as the Petit Palais, revealed to Auguste Dutuit what he sought after. A new building, spacious, unencumbered as yet, and situated in the centre of the Champs Elysées, was the very ideal he had been looking for. Not only therefore did the Petit Palais inherit the Dutuit Collection, but an annual income as

well of 180,000 francs (£7,200) to augment the various departments of which it is composed. This gave evidence of wise foresight, but another clause in the will is no less sagacious: “L’acceptation du legs devra avoir lieu dans un délai de deux mois, l’installation définitive des collections dans un délai de 4 mois. Faute par la ville d’exécuter toutes ces conditions dans les délais indiqués, tout ce que je possède devra être remis à la ville de Rome.” ¶ This was formal, excellent, and pitiless. Thus those on whom the honour and the great delight of organizing the new museum devolved, knew but scant repose as December 11 drew near. First came the journey to Rouen, when a preliminary inventory was drawn up in that paradoxical Hôtel of the Quai du Havre, where precious bibelots, incomparable books, priceless pictures, lay pell-mell in hideous disorder under a thick layer of dust. An enamel by Jean II Pénicaud, bought at the Spitzer sale for 55,000 francs, was found in a loft at the bottom of a biscuit box. In the coachhouses and stables huge packing-cases contained incunabula by the dozen, fifteenth-century manuscripts, Elzevirs, Royal books. On mediaeval ivories mushrooms set an unexpected vegetable note; the etchings, but poorly protected by thin tissue paper, were also making acquaintance with a parasitic mould; and the Dutch canvases were being covered with a patina undreamt of by the artist. When the treasures arrived in innumerable cases in Paris difficulties were not at an end, owing to the extreme haste rendered necessary by the fatal clause, and the thousand cares due to a new building, bare of hangings and cases and even of a warming apparatus. But enough. This *tour de force* hardly belongs to the history of the Dutuit Collection—or may at most be regarded as the epilogue. We need only say that December 11, 1902, offered a great and admirable artistic fête, of whose importance we hope our readers may be able to judge in the series of articles we shall devote to the new Paris collection.



PAGE FROM A FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM (REID GIFT)



PAGE FROM AN ITALIAN BOOK OF HOURS, C. 1520
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM (REID GIFT)



PAGE FROM A FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS, C. 1400
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM (REID GIFT)

NEW ACQUISITIONS AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

THE REID GIFT.—I

THE collection of illuminated manuscripts in the National Art Library, never very important, has been unexpectedly strengthened by a substantial gift from Mr. George Reid of no less than eighty-two specimens, chiefly Books of Hours, of works of this class; as well as cases in which to exhibit them. The manuscripts are in several instances of considerable interest, if not of the first quality; and they may be fairly regarded as a good representative selection of the skill of the average mediaeval scribe. They will be of the greatest utility to the students at South Kensington, where the practice of good writing is now a subject of special study; and from this point of view alone, Mr. Reid deserves warm thanks for his generosity. ¶ Perhaps the best specimen of the art of the illuminator is a French Book of Hours of about the year 1400, in date. This is written on 189 leaves of vellum, with rubrics in Latin and French, and a French Calendar, of which every date is filled. Among the local saints whose names are specially written in gold may be mentioned SS. Genevieve, "Mor," Yves, Eloy, "Loys Roy," and Denis. Ten large miniatures remain, the subjects being SS. John, Luke, and Matthew, the Visit to Saint Elizabeth, Washing the Holy Child in the Stable, the Flight into Egypt, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, four men singing an Ave to the Madonna, a Burial of the dead, and Christ enthroned. The borders are well done, and consist always of the characteristic small leaf and sprig of the period, with the one exception of that here reproduced; and the initials are also excellent. The use is that of the diocese of Paris. ¶ Another French Book of Hours is of more interest for its

contents than as a work of art, although from that point of view it is by no means valueless. It has nineteen miniatures of scenes from the life of Christ, with a David in Penitence, a Dirge, and a Burial of the dead; these are placed within borders of small sprigged ornament, interspersed with heavier flowers. The use is that of Sarum, and the volume was written at Rouen about 1430, apparently for an Englishman whose name is believed to have been Hussey; records of the births of six sons and four daughters as well as the death of "Elizabeth Hussy" having been written in to the Calendar between 1430 and 1442. The original owner is conjectured to have been a follower of Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, who was killed at the siege of Orleans; for the Calendar has notes on October 23 of his wounding, and on November 3 of his death. The extra pages of the book also have some most interesting entries, English versions of hymns—"Jhū that art heuen kyng," and "The stern of heuen modre Marye"—as well as other devotional exercises of great interest. ¶ A Book of Hours of the same period is probably attributable to Canterbury. It contains twelve large miniatures executed in a crude and simple style, but by no means uninteresting. Among them there are, worthy of special reference: the Murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury; Christ in the Wine-press, a curiously childish realization; and St. Jerome reading, in a cell filled with good furniture. Several of the miniatures in this volume are strikingly suggestive of Eastern influence. ¶ Another English Service Book, of the same description as the last, has eighteen full-page miniatures chiefly of scenes from the life of Christ. In this the St. Jerome is writing at a desk of unusual shape; and, throughout, the backgrounds of the pictures are filled with rich arabesque patterns in gold. This volume also has some interesting insertions—obits of several early

The owners, a rhymed prayer referring to King
Burlington Henry VI, and the following book-thief's
Magazine, curse:—

Number III This boke ys oon, the curse of crist ys a
 nothir,
 He that stelith thoon shall haue the othir.

The binding is an excellent specimen of modern art by Chivers of Bath, with a modelled Crucifixion copied from one of the miniatures on the front. ¶ A French Book of Hours, of the middle of the fifteenth century in date, will be especially valuable to the Museum inasmuch as it contains an almost complete record of the costume and occupations of the peasants of the time. Among the larger miniatures, a spirited version of the Three Living and Three Dead is undoubtedly the best. The borders are of large foliage divided into compartments and mingled with animals. ¶ Among other English examples, short mention may be made of a Psalter, *circa* 1460, which, with other miniatures, has a valuable one of a coronation ceremony; a fragment of a choir book, very beauti-

fully written, and ascribed to Norwich (fifteenth century); and a large Psalter, *circa* 1420, which is of particular interest to South Kensington because it formerly belonged to Owen Jones, and was the model on which he based his attempted revival of mediaeval lettering and illumination. A specimen is reproduced from it in Humphrey's "Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages." ¶ As a rarity, mention must be made of a Scottish Book of Hours, in date about the end of the fourteenth century, and with local saints in the Calendar such as give reasonable cause for its origin to be fixed in the neighbourhood of Fife. In a Netherlandish Book of Hours of the fifteenth century, the later pages are well written in broad Scots dialect; while a Psalter which came from the library of Boswell of Auchinleck has the names of several Scottish saints in its Calendar and Litany, but was probably written by an Englishman. ¶ The gift includes a considerable number of Italian, German, and Netherlandish MSS., which will be the subject of a future note.

❧ BIBLIOGRAPHY ❧

REPRODUCTIONS OF DRAWINGS BY OLD MASTERS
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AT CHATSWORTH. With an Introduction by S. Arthur Strong. Duckworth and Co.

The gratitude of all lovers of beautiful things is due to the public spirit and courtesy of the Duke of Devonshire, who has permitted a selection of the choicest drawings in the Chatsworth portfolios to be brought out and presented to the art-world in a dress that is worthy of them and of their princely resting-place. This publication is aristocratic, not by virtue of its contents only or the sober magnificence of its apparel, but because of its rarity as well; it can be possessed by eighty only of those fortunate members of society who can afford to pay £20 for a portfolio of reproductions. ¶ Nor are our thanks due to his Grace alone; they also belong to the energy and initiative of a librarian to whom we already owe the catalogues of the Wilton House Drawings, and of the masterpieces of painting in Grosvenor House and in the Devonshire Collection. Respected as Mr. Strong, Professor of Arabic at University College, is as an Orientalist, it is as librarian that he is best known to the general public. As librarian to the House of Lords and to two of the great ducal houses of England, he holds the keys to treasure-houses whose contents are so varied that it is impossible, in this age of experts, for one man, however able, to figure as the skilled exponent of them all. He therefore, rightly interpreting the duties of his office, has to the present publication appended a collection of the opinions of experts upon the drawings reproduced. This collection, however, can hardly be considered complete, as some distinguished names are missing from it. ¶ The rôle of pioneer among these experts belongs to Dr. Jean Paul Richter, who, by permission of the Duke of Devonshire, was invited in 1898 to inspect the numerous drawings, many of them then unnamed, and to make a selection of some forty of the more important for publication. His selection forms the nucleus of the present edition, as does also the *catalogue raisonné* which he made at the time. It included the following: Nos. 2, 5, 9, 15, 18, 22, 23, 27, 31A (not B), 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 62 and 70 of Mr. Strong's publication, as well as some fine drawings by Correggio and other North Italians which have

not yet seen the light. ¶ We trust that we shall not appear insensible of the boon bestowed on all students of Italian art if we prelude our discussion of the Renaissance drawings by a protest against the manner in which they are arranged, for arrangement in such a publication as this has a peculiar importance, the chief value of such a collection being "cultur-historisch" rather than aesthetic, as few of the drawings reproduced can claim to be masterpieces. ¶ Unlike paintings, drawings are seldom the work of more than one hand, nor are they subject to the same mischances of restoration and change. They are generally either originals, copies, or forgeries; they are therefore intensely personal, and consequently invaluable aids to the formation of a conception of the character and modes of visualization of an artist as distinguished from his school. Their worth is therefore immeasurably heightened if they can be arranged in groups and treated as mutually illustrative. This arrangement and this treatment have been deliberately avoided by Mr. Strong. Indeed we have failed to discover any system in his arrangement. Thus, to take one instance, the numbers of the drawings attributed to Raphael are 7, 15, 17, 23, 43 and 49, and their relation to the drawings which precede and follow them seems to be fortuitous. ¶ Inconvenient also is the separation of the text from the picture it is its function to elucidate, although this may have been difficult to avoid for convenience of printing. To take the case of Raphael once more: after the desired drawing has been found the inquirer has to search for the editor's explanation in the preface, where the drawings are treated, as they should be, in groups formed on the basis of the schools to which they belong. After Raphael has been searched for under the headings of "Umbrian," "Florentine," and "Roman" schools, and eventually found, it is the student's wearisome task to compare text and drawing which form part of the same book, but are separated from each other by a considerable number of folio imperial pages. We hope that we shall not be considered unreasonable cavillers if we also take exception to the system on which the drawings are named. Six "Raphaels" figure in the list of plates sent out together with a subscribers' form by the publisher. It is with surprise, therefore, that on procuring the book one learns from the commentary that, in the editor's opinion, two of these

are really by Pintoricchio, another by Sebastiano del Piombo, and the remaining three mere school works, two of which have been characterized by Morelli, the greatest authority on Raphael's drawings, as "nicht echt" and "werthlos." The naming of the drawings is clearly not based on a desire to retain the original attributions; for, to take a few instances only, it was Morelli who, comparatively recently, attributed No. 6 to Giorgione,¹ and the same critic ascribed No. 35 (originally catalogued as by Leonardo da Vinci) to Sodoma, whose name it now bears, while No. 32, at present given to the school of Mantegna, was formerly catalogued as by Pierin del Vaga. The original attributions not having been consistently adhered to, and the classification not having been brought into agreement with the commentary, we are entirely at a loss to discover the principle that has guided the nomenclature of the plates. ¶ We should have liked, we confess, the drawings to have been arranged in groups according to the schools to which they belong; to have been named correctly; and to have been immediately associated with the few lines of comment which are now put together in the preface. But leaving the ungrateful theme of adverse criticism of the manner in which the collection has been arranged, let us turn to the drawings which are now for the first time rendered generally accessible. ¶ The most charming of the designs connected with the "divine Raphael" is a tiny tondo (No. 15) representing the Virgin and Child with attendant Saints, which was recognized as the handiwork of the great Umbrian by Richter in 1886, and by Morelli in 1887. Its unapproachable sweetness and sincerity together with the purity of its line place its paternity beyond the range of doubt. Mr. Strong, however, connects this drawing with one at Frankfurt, undoubtedly by Pintoricchio, and adds that "it is difficult to believe that the Chatsworth drawing is not by the same hand." This opinion seems to be based on the rough-and-ready mechanical rules laid down by Morelli as aids to the identification of much-repainted or typical pictures. It cannot be said too often that such rules were intended either for beginners (connoisseurship as a whole was in its infancy thirty years ago) or to meet an especial class of difficulty. ¶ If we may be permitted a homely metaphor, Morelli's "rules of thumb" are now nothing more than sign-posts for tourists in a

¹ It appears that the editor does not unconditionally accept this attribution, for in this case he has not hesitated to append a mark of interrogation.

foreign land (we do not detract from his merit—in his days the land was unexplored); the countryman however does not pace the familiar roadways by their aid, he is guided by the landmarks; he knows the lie of the land, its great natural features, and is familiar with the intimate beauties of woodland and riverside. Moreover, it is not just to blame the sign-post if the tourist, not having mastered the language of the land, and not distinguishing between the little words "to" and "from," misread its directions! ¶ This is a case in which Morelli's "tips" mislead, if not checked by a perception of a thing greater than they, namely, quality. The Frankfurt and Chatsworth drawings resemble each other, it is true; both are Umbrian, both Perugian, and both of approximately the same date. They have in common, composition, tricks of technique (such as loose cross hatchings), mannerisms in the treatment of the draperies (the Umbrian "hooks" and "eyes"); the Virgin's right hand in both drawings is derived from the same original . . . but . . . they are separated from each other by a gulf of quality. The bourgeois fulness of the cheek of the Frankfurt Virgin, sinking with an ugly dip into a foolish little chin, is transfigured in the Chatsworth drawing into a tender unbroken oval, which carries us back to Timoteo Viti, and forward to the Madonna dei Connestabili; Pintoricchio's bulge-cheeked and morose doll makes way for the free and delicate realism of the Urbinate's Child; the mannered religiosity of the provincial *dévôte* is replaced by the pensive sweetness of a flower-like young mother: in short, a thing of beauty is created which lies outside the gamut of Pintoricchio's possibilities. ¶ These drawings are either approximately synchronous products of the same atelier, the one by a middle-aged artist of experience, the other by a young man of genius; or (and this is the opinion towards which we incline) we have here a free copy by Raphael of a lost drawing by Pintoricchio, of the type of his earlier copy (at Lille) of the Berlin drawing by Perugino, which he afterwards used for the Terranova Madonna. Although undoubtedly Pintoricchesque, especially in technique, it is like the Connestabili Madonna, reminiscent in form and sentiment of Timoteo Viti; we should place it therefore in the early years of Raphael's sojourn in Perugia, before the influence of his boyhood's master waned under the instruction of Perugino and Pintoricchio, *i.e.* from 1500–1502. ¶ It is a far cry from the girlish delicacy of this

Umbrian drawing to the brutal realism of No. 40, a study for a portrait of Leo X. Although the condition of this drawing, which has been much rubbed, and then coarsely overworked, is such that no opinion as to its authorship can be based on its technique, yet it is immediately evident that it was conceived and executed by a great master of the early cinquecento. The name of Sebastiano rises tentatively to our lips. Indeed Mr. Strong, following Professor Franz Wichhoff, attributes it to him; but what portrait is there by Sebastiano of this calibre? of this demoniac force and cruelty? There are only two Renaissance portraits of similarly sinister power—Titian's unfinished Paul III at Naples, and Raphael's Leo X in the Pitti. One trembles at the audacity of courtiers who handled their patrons with such relentless veracity! ¶ It cannot but have been a source of wonder to the psychologist that Raphael's Leo was not only finished, but was hung by the Medici in their capital. In the light of this drawing it becomes clear, however, that the Pitti portrait is after all an expurgated edition, a courtier's compliment, and was accepted as such by a pope whose mirror had rendered him familiar with the original. ¶ After all, it is not the ruined drawing *per se* which rivets, but the personality revealed—a thing like a fossil mammoth, brutal, sensual, strong, hedonistic, with passions on a larger scale than those of today. A Venetian ambassador, Marco Minio, in a private despatch, indulgently describes this high priest of Christendom, this lover of hawking and the chase, from whose lips floated the refrains of the profanest ditties, and in whose heart reigned the love of women and wine, as "a good fellow" (*bona persona*); he calls him learned (*docto*), and even "very religious" (*ben religioso*) . . . then adds significantly, "but he wants to live." *Ma vuol viver*. In the light of this portrait we can well believe it! ¶ The charm of the scene from the life of Iphigenia (No. 19) wins one at first to the belief that its conception and execution alike are to be attributed to Raphael. But time and study bring discrimination. ¶ The student who passes to it from the contemplation of an undoubted original by Raphael, will be conscious of a sense of diminished *élan* and power. The world is the same, but the sun is momentarily clouded. He will then realize that what is before him is indeed Raphael, but Raphael veiled. It is a copy, a charming copy, by a gifted pupil, who betrays himself, especially in the reproduction of such

parts as are slightest, most fugitive, and suggestive. What, however, could be more beautiful than the head of one of the youths in attendance on Iphigenia?¹ The other drawings "after" Raphael need not occupy much of our attention. No. 61, representing a nude woman, with thick legs of unequal length, was long ago characterized by Morelli as "worthless." No. 23 is a poor school copy of a sketch by Raphael for the upper part of the Transfiguration. These weakly-drawn nude figures should be compared with his genuine drawing for a fresco in the Farnesina, preserved in the Cologne Collection. What verve! what brio! what precision of touch! what a power of suggesting movement! and what a contrast to the weak, ill-articulated figures here! No. 43 is by Pintoricchio. No. 49 is certainly not by the master of rhythmic line; it may be founded on an engraving doubtfully associated with a lost drawing by Raphael. We would draw the reader's attention to the drawing of the child's skirt, to his deformed right leg, to the tortured lines of the mother's draperies, and to the relation of her right knee to her body; and suggest comparison with the study for the Madonna del Cardellino preserved at Oxford. ¶ The Chatsworth drawings by Raphael are, in our opinion, two only—the small tondo ascribed to Pintoricchio by Mr. Strong, and the portrait of Leo ascribed by him to Sebastiano del Piombo. Two of the school copies published are, however, of value—one (No. 19) as standing close to the master, both in time and quality; the other (No. 25) as preserving a lost study for the upper part of the Transfiguration. ¶ By the executant of the lower part of the same picture, Giulio Romano, are two fine drawings—one, The Three Graces (No. 24), a good example of the somewhat gross Roman art, which, by the irony of fate, has been identified with the noblest phase of the genius of the refined Urbinate; the other (No. 62), Silenus, a characteristic late Renaissance reflex of the Hellenistic art of the Roman Empire, and a forecast, in Roman dialect, of the later pseudo-classicism of which Nicholas Pousin is the best exponent. ¶ By Raphael's Florentine compeers, Michaelangelo and Leonardo, there is nothing (No. 13 is a poor copy after Beltraffio). Neither is there any example of the great portrait art of Titian, No. 20

¹ We would advise the English student to examine Raphael's study for part of the Disputa in this connexion. It was bequeathed by Mr. Vaughan to the British Museum, is catalogued "School of Raphael," and is a fine example of his spirited and nervous technique, of his gentle yet passionate movement, and of the inimitable subtlety of his treatment of transparent shadow.

being only a retouched tracing from a magnificent original. By him, however, is a grandly conceived mountain scene framing the austere figure of Saint Jerome (No. 39). The gleaming peaks of adjacent ranges rising from below, separated by an abyss of air from the rocky hillside which forms the foreground, and the veiled radiance of a misty sky, are admirably suggested. ¶ Equally fine, though different in character, is an opulently verdant landscape, with plentiful water, and well-grown but wind-blown trees (No. 58). Mr. Strong speaks of "competent critics" who have associated the name of Campagnola with this fine drawing. We imagine they belong to that group of connoisseurs who accredit that second-rate master with the Giorgione Concert of the Salon Carré. A signed landscape by him in the British Museum may be accepted as a sample of his attractive mediocrity (No. 1848, 11-25-10-2). ¶ Among the gems of this collection is a slight pen, bistre and red chalk drawing by Titian's charming forerunner, Carpaccio (No. 5, ascribed at Chatsworth to Giovanni Bellini). It pictures the official presentation of a goblet or ciborium to Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani by a youth of position. As characteristic of Carpaccio is its tender landscape setting of open sky, with floating islands of warm clouds, wide stretches of lagoon, and marshlands with occasional slender trees, as is the peculiar drawing of the figures and their sensitive *empressment*. At first sight it is the landscape which attracts; but the artist's delicate comprehension of the human aspect of the incident represented puts this eventually into a subsidiary position; it becomes nothing more than the spacious and airy setting of a scene, the importance of which lies in the nobility of those who act in it. ¶ Typical of Carpaccio is such harmonious expression of his delight in the beautiful outer aspect of things, together with a sense of their nothingness in comparison with invisible heavenly things. He never seems to tire of the spectacle of lovely and visionary youth in the moment of rapturous self-abnegation. This is the theme of his noblest works, notably of the Ursula and Conor series, a preparatory sketch for one of the scenes in which is at Chatsworth (No. 31a). His work is the result of the rare union of the soul of an ascetic, with the temperament, gifts, and training of a Venetian of the late quattrocento. ¶ Of the later Venetians there is little beside a splendid head of a woman (No. 48), and two fine compositions by Pordenone

(Nos. 38 and 44). ¶ There are no figure-pieces by Titian, by Tintoretto, by Paris Bordone, or by Paolo Veronese. But there is an excellent drawing by one who approaches Paolo Veronese from afar (No. 114), a Virgin and Child with Saints. It is ascribed in the Chatsworth publication to Zelotto, but without comment, unfortunately, for it would be interesting to know on what grounds. Florence is represented by three good drawings only, two of which are by Ghirlandajo (Nos. 22 and 23). The third, a masterly male portrait in silver point on grey paper, is ascribed to Filippino Lippi by Mr. Bernhard Berenson, who connects it with such portrait-heads as occur in the Uffizi Adoration of the Magi. This attribution, although at first sight surprising—for Filippino is not generally associated with works of such trenchant virility—is convincing. The objective realism of this study and its technique are characteristic of his portraits, and the ear also is his. It represents a wary Florentine, crafty and hard, with the eye of a bird of prey, the modern mercantile equivalent of Antonello's Condottiere! ¶ Although we should have liked to discuss at length many more of the drawings in this collection, space compels us to relinquish further detailed analysis. Suffice it to say that this publication makes it evident that the Devonshire portfolios contain some masterpieces, a few problems, many interesting drawings, and a large sprinkling of poor ones. This edition would have been more distinguished had the latter been more rigidly excluded, Nos. 3 and 4, for instance—the latter a timid drawing after Mantegna's well-known engraving, of which there is a spirited impression in the British Museum; Nos. 7, 8, 11, 12 (four amazingly bad studies of nude male models attributed to Signorelli, that master of style and anatomy!); and Nos. 13, 14, 29, 33, 37, 42, 49, 56, 63. But we do not wish to end with a note of fault-finding. Those who rise grumbling from a table where they have sat with Raphael and Titian, with Carpaccio and Ghirlandajo, and with their "Friends," are churls indeed! Acquaintance with the Chatsworth Raphaels deepens our sense of the versatility of the great Urbinate, so strong is the one, so tender is the other; we come very close to the ascetic hedonist of Venice in his drawing for the Palace of the Patriarch, and in the sketch for the legendary scene now in the Venice Academy; we realize better than before how robust was Titian's feeling for *plein-air* landscape; and, finally, we

learn to relish the qualities of artists whose smaller barks are too often overshadowed by the full-sailed vessels of their greater contemporaries. ¶ It only remains to add that the greatest possible credit is due to the printers and publishers for the way in which the book is produced. The facsimiles of the drawings are as near perfection as any reproductions could be, as will be seen by a reference to the two drawings attributed to Holbein, which are reproduced in another part of this number.

A. C. T.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARMOUR AND ARMS IN THE ARMOURY OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM. By Guy Francis Laking, M.V.O., F.S.A. Bradbury, Agnew & Co.

"The Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta" is an interesting addition to the illustrated records of arms and armour existing in Europe. Although it is not a large collection, the Maltese Armoury contains some pieces worthy of the attention of connoisseurs. Thanks to the intelligent co-operation of Lord Grenfell, till recently Governor of Malta, and the careful investigation of Mr. Laking, the King's Armourer, those whose footsteps have never strayed as far as the island are now able, by means of this liberally illustrated and well-prepared catalogue, to judge of the value of the collection. An interesting feature of the work is the pair of views showing how the great hall of the Palace was formerly and is now arranged. Thanks to the discrimination of Mr. Laking, the visitor can now at once devote his attention to the pieces which deserve study, instead of having to wander about looking for parts of one suit in different corners of the room, as was formerly the case. ¶ Mr. Laking points out one great virtue in the Armoury, and that is the total absence of modern forgeries. The Armoury has had a very chequered existence, and but for the drains on it for purposes of war it might have held its own with many others. Even from its friends it has suffered; some years ago some of the suits were removed to the Tower of London, and, as is remarked by the compiler of the catalogue, the absence of any inventory made possible

an occasional abstraction, "as a souvenir," for the friends of those in whose charge the arms were. Sir Gaspard le Marchant, who was Governor from 1858 to 1864, did, during his term of office, take steps to reorganize the collection and to repair the building, but it has been reserved for Lord Grenfell to make, with the judicious help of Mr. Laking, an instructive and interesting exhibition. ¶ As in so many other collections, in order to gratify the desire of the public, figures have been made up of pieces never in their previous history so associated; but it is very difficult, save in the case of purely state suits, to get together all the pieces of one panoply. It is hardly gracious to criticize the good work of the catalogue, but the term "coudres" apparently makes its first appearance here. Elbow-cop is the English word, and not a very obscure one. "Sapping" also seems to be used rather too freely, as that operation of war is more associated with the attack than defence of a fortress. Heavy head and breast pieces were used till very late times for the sap, as may be seen in the very realistic drawings of Raffet, illustrating the Siege of Rome in 1848.

D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ENJOYMENT OF ART (THE). By Noyes. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
SILVERWORK AND JEWELLERY. By H. Wilson. John Hogg. 5s. net.
BOOKBINDING AND CARE OF BOOKS. By Douglas Cockerell. John Hogg. 5s. net.
L'ESTAMPE DE 1418. By H. Hymans. Brussels, Hayez.
VITTORE CARPACCIO ET LA CONFRÉRIE DE SAINTE URSULE. By Pompeo Molmenti and Gustave Ludwig. Florence, Bemporad et Fils.
ISABELLA D'ESTE. By Julia Cartwright. Two Volumes. Murray.
REPERTORIUM FÜR KUNSTWISSENSCHAFT. XXV Band. Bibliographie. Compiled by H. Thode and H. von Tschudi. Berlin, Reimer.
LES LIVRES ORNÉS ET ILLUSTRÉS EN COULEUR. By R. Pingrenon. Paris, Daragon. 5 francs.
RUSKIN. Works. Vol. II. Library Edition. George Allen.

PERIODICALS

- Onze Kunst (Amsterdam). Baconiana. Gazette des Beaux Arts. The Gentleman's Magazine. The Monthly Review. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Report for 1902. Ateneum (Stockholm). La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne (Paris). La Rassegna Nazionale (Florence). Die Kunst (Munich).

❧ CORRESPONDENCE ❧

PROFESSOR LANGTON DOUGLAS AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

SIR,

In the last number of *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, Mr. Hobart Cust seeks to show that, whilst in my "History of Siena," I have given the impression that I am "an expert and accurate student of original and documentary evidence," such an impression is misleading. Although it is a pleasant surprise to find that my own personal competence or incompetence as an archivist is regarded as a subject sufficiently interesting to occupy the attention of your readers, it is distasteful to me to be compelled to speak publicly in regard to my own documentary discoveries, a thing which I have so far shrunk from doing that, in several instances, I have not published, or even reported in any public print, not single historical documents alone, but whole series of documents that it has been my good fortune to find in the course of several years of research—discoveries which historians like Dr. S. R. Gardiner and Dr. Creighton, have been pleased to regard as of primary importance, and of which some of the fruits will soon see the light. ¶ In seeking to prove his case, Mr. Cust curiously ignores altogether the results of my own personal researches, and does not single out one case in which I quote from documents actually seen by me. He argues from two particulars to a general; and he chooses for his instances two cases in which I was using—as I duly acknowledged in the notes—copies of documents made by such distinguished archivists as Signor Donati and Signor Tanfani Centofanti, the Director of the Pisa Archives. Whilst a scientific historian is always as far as possible his own Dry-as-dust, every modern historian known to me has been compelled sometimes, in the course of a work covering so large a field as my "History of Siena," to accept as correct copies of documents made by competent palaeographers. This I did in both the instances referred to by Mr. Cust. In the case of one of the documents under discussion, Mr. Cust seeks to create a prejudice against me by stating that Signor Donati's copy of it was not made from the original document in the Archivio Notarile at Siena, but from another copy in the Communal library of that town. The fact is of trifling importance; but when the document was published in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese* for November 1894 there was nothing at all to show that Signor Donati had not had recourse to the original document, to which he gave an adequate reference in a footnote. ¶ The real question at issue between me and Mr. Cust is whether the conclusions I have arrived at in each of the two cases that he mentions are justified by the evidence. In discussing this question I shall be compelled to demonstrate that Mr. Cust is far from being "an expert and accu-

rate student of original and documentary evidence"—even in regard to Sodoma and Beccafumi, the two artists of whose careers he is supposed to possess some special knowledge—as well as to show that in one brief letter, written to prove the inaccuracy of another student, he has succeeded in making half a dozen serious mistakes in simple matters of fact.

In the first place, Mr. Cust objects to my statement that "in the last thirty years of his life Sodoma is almost always spoken of as 'de Tizioni,' or 'd' Jacopo Tizioni.'" The statement as it stands is, perhaps, open to misconstruction. For the veriest tyro in art history who has glanced through Milanese collections of documents, knows that, in contemporary writings, the family name of Sodoma is not mentioned, and that he is usually alluded to—particularly in documents written in Siena, where he was well known—by his Christian name alone, or by his Christian name and his nickname "Il Sodoma." If, however, my statement is understood to refer only to those documents relating to the last thirty years of Sodoma's life in which a recognized family name is mentioned, it is quite correct. In all such documents belonging to the last thirty years of the artist's life, saving in one single example, he is given the name of Tizzoni, Tizioni, or Tisoni. In or before the year 1518 Sodoma assumed that name, and he was referred to under it in that year in a public document. It is also the name by which he is known in a long series of documentary entries to be found in the Archives of Pisa, entries which cover a period of five years, from 1539 to 1544. That he was once called by his earlier name, Bazzi, after 1518, is probably due to a slip on the part of a Siennese notary who had known him in his earlier days. Instances are not uncommon in which a woman after her marriage has inadvertently written her maiden name in the place of her proper surname; and I have myself made the mistake of calling a friend who had taken the name of his mother's family by the patronymic he had formerly borne. ¶ It is little less than marvellous that in the first paragraph of this letter in which Mr. Cust charges me with error, he himself succeeds in making two mistakes which show that he is hardly competent to express an opinion on questions of documentary evidence relating to Beccafumi or to Sodoma. In the first instance he proves that he does not possess even an elementary knowledge of the native tongue of the artist for whom he has so strong an admiration. He imagines that the name Tizzoni which Sodoma bore is spelt Tisoni in certain Pisan documents, because the clerk who wrote them was "half educated" and "had no orthography of his own." Had Mr. Cust himself any acquaintance

with the language spoken in Piedmont, and also in Vercelli and in the neighbouring country, he would know that "zz" in Italian words is usually changed to "s" in that tongue. The Italian word *tizzone*, "a brand," for example, becomes *tisone* in Piedmontese, and the Italian word *tizzonájo* becomes *tisonájo* in the northern speech. Tisoni is a local form of the name Tizzoni, and as such, is used by Dr. Tanfani Centofanti, the learned archivist of Pisa. Probably Sodoma, being himself a Verellese, used the form Tisoni, and hence its appearance in the Pisan documents. Moreover, Mr. Cust has no grounds at all for his assumption that Francesco Tizzoni was merely "a family friend" of Sodoma's father, and not a relative. The house of Tizzoni or Tisoni had numerous branches, and the name was borne by many persons in quite humble circumstances. It is quite possible that Sodoma was in some way connected with that house. ¶ Secondly, Mr. Cust makes the "astounding statement" that Beccafumi "was documentarily known by the surname of Mecarino or Mecharino for the greater part of his artistic career." To adopt Mr. Cust's own temperate diction—"no more serious misstatement ever masqueraded as fact." It is sufficient for me to state that in the eighty odd cases I know of in which Beccafumi is alluded to by name in manuscripts written during his own lifetime, he is only referred to four times by his nickname Mecarino or Mecharino, whilst in three other instances he is called Mecuccio, or Domenico alias Mecuccio.

As a second and final example of my misuse of documentary evidence, Mr. Cust instances my theory that Matteo di Giovanni's Massacre of the Innocents, in the Church of the Servi at Siena, was painted in 1471. It is obvious that in a book which sought to cover the whole field of Siennese history, political and artistic, I could not devote, in many cases, a large space to the discussion of the date of a single picture. I am glad to have this opportunity of demonstrating the truth of the theory that I there propounded in regard to the date of this altarpiece, the Massacre of the Innocents. I maintain that this picture was painted in 1471, and that this is the work referred to in the will of Francesco di Giovanni Tolomei which was reproduced by Signor Donati in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*. ¶ Mr. Cust holds that "the signature of the picture proclaims it as 1491." It is useless to discuss whether the dubious figure is a 7 or 9, for this figure has suffered injury within my own memory. The inscription is not a signature at all, as Mr. Cust imagines it to be; it is a late and poor imitation of earlier inscriptions on pictures of Matteo, awkwardly introduced in a place where no inscription was ever intended to be. That it was not in existence in the first half of the seventeenth century is proved by the manuscript itinerary of

Siena attributed to Fabio Chigi.¹ The author of this manuscript gives the dates of all the dated pictures in the Church of the Servi, including that of another work by Matteo then in that building, but he gives no date to this picture. There are other instances in which forged or corrupted inscriptions are to be found on works of Matteo and his school. I need only mention the inscription on the Massacre of the Innocents at Naples which gives the date of that picture as 1418.² I hold, however, that such inscriptions are to be regarded as accidental perversions of the truth rather than as pure inventions. In view of the other evidence that I shall bring, there can be little doubt that the date of the picture in the Church of the Servi is 1471. ¶ First of all, let me relate briefly the stylistic reasons for adopting this view. Firstly, in this picture the design is more obviously symmetrical than in other representations of the same subject. Secondly, the picture is not nearly so well spaced as the Massacre of the Innocents, as S. Agostino, or as the design Matteo made for the pavement of the Duomo at Siena. Thirdly, the architectural framework of the scene in the last-named works is more elaborate, and shows a more intimate knowledge of architectural forms than that of the altarpiece at the Servi. Fourthly, except in the case of one figure, the picture shows less skill in the rendering of form than the other representations of the subject I have referred to. Fifthly, it is not so gruesomely realistic as other works of the same class painted by the artist after the terrible siege of Otranto in 1480, nor do we find in it the same expressions of violent emotion. For artistic as well as historical reasons this peculiarity tends to show that it is of an earlier date than the other pictures I have referred to. When an artist is called upon to repeat some popular *tour de force* in which he has given artistic expression to strong feeling, it is always his tendency, under the stimulus of popular applause, to make each repetition of such expression more exaggerated than the last. ¶ Such are the stylistic reasons for assigning this picture to an earlier date than the S. Agostino panel, or than Matteo's design for the Cathedral pavement. How weighty they are we can judge by turning to Mr. Berenson's "Central Italian Painters."³ Mr. Berenson, we know, has a contempt for so-called signatures, and bases his conclusions on connoisseurship alone. We may be sure, then, that it was for stylistic reasons that he held that Signor Cavalcaselle might be wrong, and that the date of the picture might be 1471. ¶ The historical evidence for the theory that this picture is the altarpiece referred to in the will of

Correspondence

¹ A copy of this seventeenth-century manuscript itinerary is in the Communal Library at Siena. It is entitled *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, etc., della città di Siena*. It was formerly said to be of the year 1625, but is probably of a somewhat later date.

² Matteo was born about 1430.

³ Berenson, "Central Italian Painters," "Siena Servi, 4th altar, R., Massacre of the Innocents, 147[or 9]1."

Francesco de' Tolomei, is stronger even than the stylistic. In this will, written as we have seen in the year 1472, reference is made to a well-known work by Matteo di Giovanni which then occupied a place on the left of the entrance to the Church of the Servi. Of the three pictures Matteo painted for that church, the picture of the high altar is obviously not the one referred to. The choice, therefore, lies between a small Madonna, which in the seventeenth century was above an altar on the right side of the said church, and which is now in the Siena Gallery, and the Massacre of the Innocents, painted for the Spannocchi family. By a curious misinterpretation of the will, Mr. Cust seeks to show that the Massacre of the Innocents could not be the picture referred to in it. The will says, "the aforesaid picture with the aforesaid figures shall be of the shape of that in the Church of the Servi on the left of the entrance, which Matteo painted."¹ The words, "with the aforesaid figures," "colle dette figure," are obviously merely a legal repetition. The sentence only provides that the picture shall be of the same shape as the work by Matteo. It contains nothing that is inconsistent with the theory that the Massacre of the Innocents was the picture referred to. Moreover, in the case of a picture intended to occupy so important a place as that of the altarpiece of the Tolomei Chapel at S. Francesco, the artist would no doubt be directed rather to adopt the form of a large and well-known altarpiece, ordered by a recognized connoisseur in the arts, than that of a smaller and less important picture. There are, I hold, strong grounds for the belief that a very distinguished connoisseur gave the commission for this Spannocchi Massacre of the Innocents. This picture was ordered, I hold, by Ambrogio Spannocchi, Pius II's treasurer and intimate friend. Ambrogio gave earnest support to Pius in his projected crusade against the Turk. On the election of Sixtus IV, in the year 1471, Ambrogio became the confidential adviser of that Pope; and in 1471 he was sent to Siena—just as Borgia was sent to Spain, Marco Barbo to Germany, and Bessarion to France—in order to rouse Christians to check the advance of the Turk, and to fill them with horror at Turkish outrages. Spannocchi, on returning to his native city, at once showed himself to be an enthusiastic patron of the arts, and caused to be erected the beautiful palace which still bears the name of his family. Anxious to inspire his fellow-citizens with

¹ "La detta tavola colle dette figure sia della forma che è quella nella chiesa de' Servi, a mano sinistra all' entrata, la quale dipinse Matteo"

hatred of the Turk, what was more natural than that he should have had painted that tract in colour, Matteo's Massacre of the Innocents, in which Herod is represented as a bloodthirsty Sultan? The Massacre of the Innocents was the favourite subject chosen for representation by those who wished to rouse Christians to support crusading enterprises. This picture might have been intended to illustrate the lines of Spannocchi's early patron, a son of Siena, whose aims Spannocchi shared—

Rapuit ab ubere matrum
Infantes; amplexa virum matrona gementem
Eripitur ferro.¹

The altarpiece, it is evident, was not made for its present resting-place, and at some time or other, previous to the seventeenth century, suffered removal. It is not, I think, unreasonable to conclude that it was placed at first in a prominent place in the church, near to the entrance, and was removed afterwards to the position it now occupies. Perhaps there was another altar of the Spannocchi family near the door, on the left side of the church.

I think I have said enough to convince even those of my readers who cannot entirely accept my conclusions that I had weighty reasons for them. It is at least clear that Mr. Cust is not properly qualified to discuss questions relating to the documentary evidence for the early career of Sodoma, that he knows nothing about the documentary evidence relating to Beccafumi, that he is unable to interpret a simple passage in a legal document, and that he cannot distinguish between a seventeenth-century inscription and a fifteenth-century signature of Matteo Giovanni. He would show greater wisdom if, in future, he followed the practice of some so-called scientific critics, instead of entering into discussions that involve some practice in documentary research. That is to say, he would consult better his reputation if, like the writers I have referred to, he contented himself with making an unsupported dogmatic assertion upon any question like those we have been discussing, following it by a statement that those who did not agree with him were not connoisseurs, and did not possess "an eye that sees." Criticism of that kind is as easy as shelling peas, and requires no laborious training.

LANGTON DOUGLAS.

¹ In a Manuscript Codex in the Chigi Library, Cod. I. vii. 251, fo. 103; and Cod. I. vii. 260.

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